

ce

B. L. 678

# A HISTORY OF SUFI-ISM IN BENGAL

(10)

Muhammad Enamul Haq



ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BANGLADESH

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BANGLADESH PUBLICATION NO. 30

# A HISTORY OF SUFI-ISM IN BENGAL

**Prof. Muhammad Enamul Haq**

M. A. ( Gold Medallist ) Ph. D. ( Cal. )



ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BANGLADESH

PUBLISHED BY:  
DR. A. K. ROY  
GENERAL SECRETARY,  
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BANGLADESH, DACCA.

© ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BANGLADESH

FIRST PUBLISHED 30, APRIL, 1975

PRICE Tk. 85.00 IN BANGLADESH

PRINTED IN BANGLADESH,  
AL-HAJJ A. K. M. ABDUL HAJ,  
ASIATIC PRESS, DACCA.

بی نشان گشتم من اندر جستن آن بی نشان  
 عاقبت در بی نشانی بی نشان خواهم شدن  
 چشتی

**Transliteration :-**

Bi-nishān gashtam man andar justanī ān bi-nishān  
 'Āqibat dar bi-nishānī bi-nishān Khwāham shudan.

Chishti.

**Translation :-**

I have lost my entity in the quest of that Non-entity ;  
 Ultimately I wish to identify my entity with Non-entity.

Chishti.

محاسب از عاشقان از کفر و از ایمان می پرس  
 هر که عاشق گشت او از کفر و از ایمان گذشت  
 کاکي

**Transliteration :-**

Muhtasib az 'āshiqān az Kufr wa az Imān mapurs ;  
 Har Kih 'āshiq gasht u az Kufr wa az Imān gudhasht.

Kāki.

**Translation :**

O Censor, ask not the lovers of infidelity and faith ;  
 Whoever becomes a lover, is beyond infidelity and faith.

Kāki



## A HISTORY OF SUFI-ISM IN BENGAL.

Transliteration of Arabic and Persian words followed in this book, is given in the following table :-

n/ñ	ن	s	س	'	ء
w	و	sh	ش	b	ب
h	ه	ṣ	ص	p	پ
y	ی	ḍ	ض	t	ت
a	ا	ṭ	ط	th	ث
i	ی	z	ظ	j	ج
u	و	'	ع	ch	چ
ā	آ-ا-أ	gh	غ	ḥ	ح
l	ل-or-ل	f	ف	Kh	خ
u	و	q	ق	d	د
ū	و-أ	k	ک	dh	ذ
un	ن	g	گ	r	ر
an	ا	l	ل	z	ز
in	ن	m	م	zh	ژ

Examples :

عبد الحی = 'Abdu-'l-Hayyi دم حسب = Ḥasb-i-Dam  
 ذکر = Dhikr, ایمان = Īmān/Imān

## PREFACE

A study of the cultural history of peoples is one of the most fascinating studies of human race ; and a study of the cultural history of the Muslims in India is especially interesting and valuable as it affords ample opportunity to study the impact of one of the important dynamic religious systems of the world, I mean Islām, on the people of India having an ancient and illustrious civilisation. Incidentally for a Muslim in India and a Muslim in Bengal like myself, such a study means a study of the origin and early history of the development of his or my own culture.

However, as early as my under-graduate days, I felt a strong attachment to the study of cultural history of the Muslims, both in India and outside. An utter lack of suitable works especially on the subject of the history of the Muslim culture of India and more particularly of Bengal, compelled me to fill up the lacuna myself, if I ever could do it. And for the first time when an opportunity came in the year 1930, I availed myself of it for even a partial fulfilment of my early dream.

The main theme of my book is to show, how Islām under the garb of Şufiistic movements, which were in their full swing up to the sixteenth century A. D. in India, entered Bengal, and how it underwent many momentous changes in the hands of the Bengali Şufis and the Bengali Muslims affiliated to the different schools of Northern Indian Şūfī thought. Islām as it was and as it is now prevalent in Bengal is by no means an Islām of the Prophet's or his four worthy lieutenants' time, and it is like this in every Islāmic community in the world. Existing facts warrant us to believe that Islām in Bengal is greatly (if not wholly) a Şufiistic interpretation of Pristine Islām. The whole cultural history of the Bengali Muslims rests on this foundation, and I think, I was not wrong to begin my study from this point of view.

In the treatment of the subject, I have, as far as possible, taken a dispassionate attitude which may not be palatable in all cases to some of my co-religionists, and for this I have no other alternative than to offer an apology to them. In cases where I have exercised my power of judgment and discretion, I have always given preference to the teachings of the Qurān and the Hadīth interpreted as directly as possible, of course following the foot-steps of the early saints and teachers of Islām. In order to form an idea of Islām at its best and purest, this is the only way : later interpretations have always taken a regional or racial colouring in the different peoples.

As for the authorities either quoted from or referred to in this book, I have given a restricted list of them in the Bibliography. Besides, I have used a number of traditions, and inscriptions collected for my use in this book. In handling all these materials, I believe I have followed a logical method.

The subject being quite new, I had at times to be my own pathfinder. Obstacles and difficulties were many and obdurate. I have tried my best to overcome them and I do not know, how far I have been able to succeed. I am also aware of many inconsistencies and defects still remaining in this history. Until new facts and interpretations are brought to light, some inconsistencies are bound to remain.

The methods of transliteration of Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Bengali vocables and phrases I have adopted in this book, are not new ones. In this matter, I have generally followed the foot-prints of Oriental Scholars. Yet, here and there a slight modification of and a few departures from the generally accepted method will be found, and I have intentionally made them so to suit the phonology of the Bengalis.

The main corpus of this book forms my thesis for the Degree of Ph. D. of the University of Calcutta, to which I was admitted in the early part of 1934. Since then, none has made any substantial contribution to this subject necessitating even minor changes in the thematic arrangement of the book. Yet, certain changes have been brought about here and there to

make the book more useful to its readers. It may, therefore, be taken as the revised edition of my original thesis.

In this connection, I should like to have it on record that my close association with Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M. A., D. Litt ( London ), the National Professor of India for Humanities, for a period of five years ( 1930-1934 ) of my post-graduate studies and research, made it possible to prepare this book. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to him. My cordial thanks are also due to the late lamented scholar Abdul Karim Sahityavisarad ( 1869-1953 ) of Chittagong, who helped me by lending from his home library many old and valuable manuscripts of Bengali mystics, which I freely used for this book together with my own collection.

Awfully busy as I am with duties other than purely academic ones, I was in a fix as to what could be done for the preparation of an 'Index' of technical terms used in this book. Realising my practical difficulties, my friend Mr. Muzammil Haq, M. A., an Assistant Professor of the Department of Islamic History and Culture, University of Dacca, placed his valuable services at my disposal for the work. In fact, it is he who prepared the 'Index' of this book on my behalf and I am really grateful to him for his labour of love.

Lastly, I should like to tender my unqualified apology for various types of lapses, left unattended to in this book for want of time. One of them is my failure to make the book free from the printing mistakes in spite of my best effort to avoid them. Most of them are silly and a few of them are serious. I have however, appended a list of the serious ones at the end of the book.

Jahangirnagar University,

Sābhār, Dacca.

25th March, 1975.

Md. Enamul Haq.

[illegible]

## C O N T E N T S

		Page
Chapter I.	A Brief Survey of the History of Sufism in India ... ..	1-34
	Introduction	
	Early period ( 1000 A.D. to 1150 A. D. )	(pp. 3-7)
	Period of Establishment ( 1150-1400 A.D. )	(pp. 8-21)
	Period of Fusion ( 1350 A.D. downward )	(pp. 21-27)
	Period of Reformation ( 1550 A. D. downward )	(pp. 27-34)
Chapter II.	A Brief Account of the Sufi Orders and their branches having a connection with India ...	35-51
	Early Sufis of India had some unknown orders	(p.35)
	Origin of Sufi Orders accounted ...	(p. 36)
	Rapid growth of Sufi orders ...	(pp. 36-37)
	Obscurity of the history of Sufi orders introduced into India	(p. 37)
	List of Sufi Orders coming to India	(pp. 37-38)
	Origin of fourteen orders as stated by the Indian Sufis ...	(p. 39)
	Naqshbandi order and the legend behind this name	(pp. 39-40)
	List of a few existing orders and those who first introduced them into India	(pp. 40-41)
	Prominence of three orders, viz. <u>Chishti</u> , Suhrawardi and Qādiri	(pp. 41-42)
	Origin of sub-orders	(pp. 42-43)
	<u>Chishti</u> sub-orders	(pp. 43-48)
	Suhrawardi sub-orders	(pp. 48-50)
	Qādiri sub-orders	(pp. 50-51)
	Naqshbandi sub-orders	(p. 51)
Chapter III.	Main principles of Sufism as expounded by the Indian ( including Bengali ) Sufis . . . . .	52-96

Relation of Sūfism in India with Sūfism  
in Bengal (p.52) the quintessence of Indian  
Sūfism ; God ; man ; relation between  
God and man ) (pp. 53-56)

1. Theory of Light ( *Nūr* ) (pp. 56-62)

2. „ „ Divine Unity ( *Tawhīd* ) (pp. 62-67)

3. „ „ "All is He" ( *Hamah ūst* ) (pp. 67-70)

4. „ „ Essence and Attributes ( *Dhāt  
wa Sifāt* ) (pp. 70-71)

5. „ „ Soul ( *Rūh* ) (pp. 72-76)

6. „ „ Proximity ( *Qurbat* ) (pp. 76-80)

7. „ „ Affirmation and Negation ( *Ith-  
bāt wa Nafī* ) (pp. 80-84)

8. „ „ Love ( *'Ishq* ) (pp. 84-89)

9. „ „ Infusion ( *Ḥulūl* ) (pp. 89-92)

10. „ „ this world and the next ( *Dunyā  
wa 'uqbā* ) (pp. 92-93)

11. The Prophet and his place in Indian Sūfism  
(pp. 93-96)

Chapter IV.	Biliefs and Practices of Indian Sūfis . . . . .	97-111
	<i>Tariqat</i> or Sūfī path described	(p. 97)
	Description of <i>Maqāmāt</i> or stages	(pp. 97-99)
	Practices in connection with <i>Pīr</i> and <i>Murīd</i>	(pp. 99-100)
	Historical development of <i>Dhikr</i> in connec- tion with India.	(p. 100)
	Description of <i>Laṭīfahs</i>	(pp. 100-101)
	Additional <i>Laṭīfahs</i>	(pp. 102-103)
	Description of <i>Dhikr</i>	(p. 103)
	Place of <i>Dam</i> in a <i>Dhikr</i>	(pp. 103-104)
	Methods of the employment of <i>Laṭīfahs</i>	(p. 104)
	<i>Ḍarb</i> or blow	(p. 105)
	<i>Dhikr-i-rābitah</i>	(pp. 105-106)
	<i>Sulṭānu-'l-adhkar</i>	(pp. 106-107)
	<i>Murāqibah</i> described	(pp. 107-108)
	The practice of <i>Kashfu-'l-qubūr</i>	(pp. 108-109)

	The darvish hierarchy	(pp. 109-110)
	Miracles of Indian darvishes	(p. 111)
Chapter V.	Indian influence on Şuflism, ...	... 112-142
	Introduction	(pp. 112-114)
	Short appreciation of the Indian Şufi poetry	(p. 114)
	A few departures of Indian Şufis from <i>Şharī'at</i> .	(pp. 114-117)
	The causes of these departures accounted	(pp. 117-118)
	The contact of the Muslim world with India	(pp. 118-125)
	The cause of the early establishment of Şuflism in India	(pp. 125-126)
	Difficulties on the way of estimating the extent of Indian influence on Şuflism.	(p. 126)
	Three main channels of Indian influence on Şuflism	(p. 127)
	Influence of the Upaniṣads on some fundamen- tal Indian Şufi theories	(pp. 128-129)
	Influence of the Vedāntic doctrine of <i>Māya</i> on the Şufis of India	(p. 130)
	Influence of Hindu pantheism on the Şufi theories of <i>Hamah ūst</i> and <i>Hamah</i> <i>az ūst</i>	(pp. 130-131)
	The Şufi theory of soul and the influence of Indian <i>ātma</i> conception on it	(pp. 131-132)
	Influence of Buddhist <i>Nibbāna</i> on <i>fanā</i> and <i>baqā</i>	(pp. 132-134)
	<i>Nafs</i> described	(pp. 134-135)
	Fundamental similarity between <i>Yoga</i> and Şufi practices	(pp. 136-137)
	Influence of Buddhist <i>Yoga</i> on the Şufi conception of <i>Maqāmāt</i>	(pp. 137-138)
	<i>Laṭīfahs</i> are imperfect imitation of <i>Ṣataḥakras</i>	(pp. 138-139)
	General influence of <i>Yoga</i> on Şuflism	(pp. 140-141)



Influence of *Tantra* on the Indian *Ṣūfī* practice  
of *Kaṣṣfu-'l-qubur* (pp. 141-142)

- Chapter VI. Introduction of *Ṣūfī*ism into Bengal, ... 143-158  
Rarity of sources for the construction of  
*Ṣūfī* history of Bengal. (pp. 143-144)  
Sources of *Ṣūfī* history in Bengal and  
their nature discussed (p. 144)  
Earliest time of the introduction of *Ṣūfī*ism  
into Bengal (pp. 144-145)  
Predominance of Northern India over the  
Bengali Muslim thought through the agency  
of the *Ṣūfīs*. (pp. 145-146)  
Introduction of Northern Indian *Ṣūfī* orders  
and sub-orders into Bengal (pp. 146-154)  
(1) Suhrawardī order. (pp. 146-148)  
(2) *Chīshī* order. (pp. 148-149)  
(3) Qalandarī order. (pp. 149-151)  
(4) Madārī order. (pp. 151-152)  
(5) Adhamī order. (pp. 152-153)  
(6) Naqshbandī order. (p. 153)  
(7) Qādirī order. (pp. 153-154)  
Modifications of *Ṣūfī*ism in Bengal. (pp. 154-158)  
Early Period. (pp. 154-155)  
Middle Period, (pp. 155-157)  
Last Period. (pp. 157-158)  
Centres of *Ṣūfī* activities in Bengal. (p. 158)

- Chapter VII History of the *Ṣūfīs* of Bengal—Varendra  
Centre 159—182  
Formation of this centre ; its historical  
importance ; enhancement of the prestige of  
Muslims of Bengal outside the province. (p. 159)  
1. Makhdūm *Shaykh* Jalālu'd-Din Tabrizī  
( d. 1225 A. D. ) (pp. 160-168)  
2. *Shaykh* Akhī Sirāju'd-Din Badkhyuni.  
( d. 1357 A. D. ) (pp. 168-169)

3. Shaykh 'Alāu-'d-Dīn 'Alāu-'l-Ḥaqq.  
( d. 1398 A. D. ) (pp. 169-172)
4. Shaykh Nuru-'d-Dīn Quṭb-i-'Ālam  
d. ( 1415 A. D. ) (pp. 172-176)
5. Shaykh Ḥusām-'d-Dīn Mānikpurī  
( d. 1477 A. D. ) (pp. 176-177)
6. Shaykh Ridā Biyābāni. ( d. 1353  
A. D. ) (pp. 177-178)
7. Shāh Gadā. ( d. before 1455 A. D. ) (p. 178)
8. Shaykh Khalil. (alive in 1539 A. D.) (pp. 178-179)
9. Sayyid Shah Ni'matullāh. ( d. 1664  
A. D. ) (p. 179)
10. Saints of Dinājpur. (pp. 179-181)
- (a) Shāh Sayyid Nāṣiru-'d-Dīn  
Nikmardān ; (p. 179)
- (b) Pīr Badhru-'d-Dīn ( contemporary of Ḥusayn  
Shāh. ( 1493-1519 A. D. ) (p. 180)
- (c) Mullāi 'Aṭāu-'d-Dīn. (pp. 180-181)
11. Shāh Ismā'il Ghāzī.  
( beheaded in 1474 A. D. ) (pp. 181-182)

## Chapter VIII History of the Ṣūfis of Bengal-Rāḍha

- |   |               |
|---|---------------|
| Centre  | —183—203      |
| A brief description of the centre.  | (p. 183)      |
| 1. Mangalkot and its darvishes.   | (p. 183-193)  |
| 2. <u>Shāh</u> Safīu-'d-Dīn <u>Shahīd</u> , ( d. between<br>1290 and 1295 A. D. ) | (pp. 194-197) |
| 3. <u>Shah</u> 'Abdullāh Kirmānī Bangālī<br>( alive in 1236 A. D. )               | (pp. 197-198) |
| 4. Makhdum <u>Shāh</u> Zāhiru-'d-Dīn. ( sixteenth<br>century )                    | (pp. 198-199) |
| 5. Ḥājī Bahrām Saqqā. (d. 1562 A.D.)  | (pp. 199-201) |
| 6. and 7. Pīr Badr ( d. 1440 A. D. ) and<br>Pīr Majlis.                           | (pp. 201-202) |
| 8. Ḥaḍrat <u>Shāh</u> Anwār Qulī Ḥalbī<br>( d. before 1375 A. D. )                | (pp. 202-203) |
| 9. Khwājah Anwār <u>Shāh</u> ( d. 1715 A. D. )                                    | (p. 203)      |

- Chapter IX - History of the Ṣūfīs of Bengal—Vanga**  
 Centre . . . . . 204—234  
 Constitution of the centre (p. 204)  
 Earliest Ṣūfī propaganda began from  
 this centre (204); One of the causes of  
 Muslim majority in Eastern Bengal. (p. 205)
1. Shāh Sulṭān Balkhī. (pp. 205-209)
  2. Shāh Muḥammad Sulṭān Rumī.  
 ( alive in 1053 A. D. ) (pp. 209-210)
  3. Bābā Adam Shahīd. (d. 1119 A.D.?) (pp.210-215)
  4. Mokhdūm Shāh Dawlah Shahīd.  
 ( alive in the latter part of the  
 thirteenth century A. D. ) (pp. 215-218)
  5. Shāh Jalāl Mujarrad-i-Yamanī.  
 ( d. 1346 A. D. ) (pp. 218-224)
  6. Sayyadu-'l-'Ārifīn. ( latter part of  
 the 14th Century A. D. ) (pp. 224-225)
  7. Makhdūm Shāh ( alive circa 1184  
 A. D. ) (pp. 226-232)
  8. Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Shāh Dawlah ( alive in  
 1519 A. D. ) (p. 233)
  9. Shāh 'Alī Baghdādī ( d. before 1480  
 A. D. ) (p. 233)
  10. Shāh Langar. (p. 234)
- Chapter X. — History of the Ṣūfīs of Bengal—Chattāla**  
 Centre. . . . . 235—259  
 Chittagong, "the Land of Twelve  
 Awliyās" (p. 235)  
 Name of ten Awliyas out of twelve (pp. 235-236)  
 Possibility of pre-Turkī advent of the  
 Darvishes into Chittagong. (pp. 237-238)
1. Sulṭān Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī ( d. 874  
 A. D. ) pp. 238-239
  2. Bābā Farīdu-'d-Dīn Shakrganj. ( 1177-  
 1269 A. D. ) pp. 239-243

- 3, Shāh Badru-'d-Dīn 'Allāmah. ( alive in  
1340 A. D. ) pp. 243-252
  4. Qattāl Pīr ( contemporary with  
Badr ) (pp. 252-253)
  5. Shāh Muḥsin Awliyā. ( d. 1397  
A. D. ) (pp. 253-255)
  6. Shāh Pīr. ( d. 1632 A. D. ? ) (pp. 255-256)
  7. Shāh 'Umar, (pp. 256-257)
  8. 9, 10. Shāh Badl ; Shāh Mullā  
Miskīn ; Shāh Zayd (p. 257)
  11. Shāh Chānd Awliyā (pp. 258-259)
  12. Qāḍī Mutawakkil. ( Contemporary with  
Aurangzīb ) (p. 259)
- Chapter XI. - The Ṣūfī influence on Bengal. ... 260—277
- Magnitude of the Ṣūfī influence on Bengal (p. 260)
- The principal aim of the Ṣūfī  
preachnig. (p. 261)
- The causes of the success of the Ṣūfī  
mission. (pp. 261-265)
- Advent of the Ṣūfīs and voluntary conversion. (p. 266)
- A reactionary movement was started from  
Nadiyā against the aggression of Islām. (pp. 266-267)
- Raghunandan Bhaṭṭācḥarya, (p. 268)
- Chaitanya Deva. (pp. 268-269)
- Mystic character of the movement of Chaitanya  
Deva. (p. 269)
- Life of Chaitanya Deva resembles the  
life of a Ṣūfī (pp. 269-270)
- Probable influence of Ṣūfīism on the life of  
Chaitanya Deva. (pp. 271-272)
- The difference between older type and Bengali  
type of Vaiṣṇabism is due to the influence of  
Islām (p. 272)
- A strong pantheistic conception of  
monotheism (pp. 273-275)
- Strength in monotheism is the legacy of  
Islām (p. 276)

**Ṣūfī influence of 'Ishq on Vaiṣṇab**

*Prema* (pp. 277-279)

Chaitanya's elimination of caste and creed  
and the influence of Islam on it (p. 279)

Influence of *Halqah* on *Kirtana* (pp. 279-280)

Influence of the Ṣūfī literature on the Vaiṣ-  
ṇab literature of Bengal. (pp. 280-281)

Growth of sects among the Vaiṣṇabs (pp. 281-287)

Growth of cordiality and unity between the  
Hindus and Muslims of Bengal (pp. 287-316)

(a) Satya Pīr (pp. 288-293)

(b) Mānik Pīr (p. 293)

Birth of a "Popular Islām" and what it  
means (pp. 294-295)

Expansion of the spiritual and mystic out-  
look of the Bengalis (pp. 295-296)

Bāuls of Bengal (pp. 295-316)

**Chapter XII. Growth of "Popular Islām" in Bengal... 317—367**

What is meant by "Popular Islām" (p. 317)

Causes of the growth of "Popular Islām"  
in Bengal (p. 318)

A few indications of the real tendencies of  
the Bengali Muslims' mind (p. 319)

A. Modified Muslim beliefs and  
practices (pp. 323-340)

B. Practices in connection with the Muslim  
festival in Bengal (pp. 340-346)

C. Belief of the Bengali Muslims in Hindu  
deities and practices connected with  
them (pp. 346-357)

D. Hindu and other indigenous social  
practices found among the Bengali  
Muslims (pp. 358-367)

**Chapter XIII. A brief survey of the Muslim Yoga literature  
of Bengal... .. 368—396**

Unavailability of Persian Şufī literature of Bengal	(p. 368)
Popularity of Şūfīistic vernacular literature among the Hindus and Muslims	(p. 369)
Reference to the character of this literature	(p. 369)
The manuscripts of the Muslim Yoga literature	(p. 370)
Bengali and Arabic script of the manuscripts	(pp. 373-374)
<i>Yoga Qalandar</i> and its author	(pp. 374-375)
<i>Jnāna Sāgar</i> and its author	(p. 376)
<i>Jnāna pradīpa</i> and its author	(p. 376)
<i>Sapta Jnāna Pradīpa</i>	(p. 377)
<i>Bāikā Nāmāh</i>	(p. 377)
Appendix (English translation of Yoga Kālandar)	(pp. 378-396)
Chapter XIV. A study of the Muslim Yoga literature	397—422
Introduction	(pp. 397-398)
Conception of God	(pp. 398-401)
Theory of Cosmogony	(pp. 402-403)
Conception of Love	(pp. 404-405)
Importance of human body	(pp. 406-408)
The Prophet	(pp. 408-411)
Guru	(pp. 411-412)
Yoga and Yogī	(pp. 412-413)
Practical aspect of the later Şūfīs	(pp. 414-415)
Discourses on Darveshī	(pp. 415-416)
Worship of God	(p. 417)
Discourse on " <i>Tan</i> "	(pp. 417-418)
Mysteries of the Self	(pp. 418-420)
<i>Dil</i> or Mind	(pp. 420-421)
Discourse on <i>Nāqī</i> or Nerves	(p. 421)
Situations of semen	(p. 421)

<i>Saṭchakra,</i>	(p. 421)
<i>Brahmatattva.</i>	(p. 422)
<b>Bibliography</b>	(pp. 423-427)
<b>A. Index Nominum</b>	(pp. 429-443)
<b>B. Index of Technical Terms</b>	(pp. 445-453)
<b>C. Errata</b>	(pp. 454-455)

# A History of Sufiism in Bengal.

## CHAPTER I

A brief survey of the history of Sufiism in India.

### Introduction:

Sufiism in Bengal is a continuation of Sufiism in Northern India. The relation between the Sufis of Northern India and the saints of Bengal, is so closely intimate that they cannot, in any way, be alienated from one another, especially when the question of the creed they followed comes up for consideration. The creed of the Sufis of Bengal was virtually the same as the creed of the Northern Indian Sufis right upto the close of the fifteenth century A. D., after which Sufiism in Bengal clearly chalked out its own line of development. In fact, it was the Sufis of Northern India—I mean those bred and brought up in that tract of land as well as those who were initiated, inspired or directed by Northern Indian Sufis—who not only brought the message of Sufiism to Bengal, but also established and greatly popularised this Islāmic theosophical philosophy in the country within the span of a comparatively short period of two centuries and a half. We are not denying here the possibility of the advent of a few extra-Indian teachers of Sufiism, who might have visited Bengal before 1200 A. D. But our enquiries have made it difficult to believe that there was even any large influx of non-Indian Sufis into Bengal. Up till now, we have come across with only one or two extra-Indian Sufis of Bengal, who, it is said, had no connection with the Sufis of Northern India. But their stories are so much mixed up with legends that it is now well-nigh impossible to find out the truth about them.



From the closing years of the twelfth century, Bengal had been admitting a regular and incessant influx of Sŭfis from Northern India, and this flow was not abated until after the close of the fifteenth century A. D. This religious link-up of Bengal with Upper India is almost parallel to the political connection beginning from the usherment of the thirteenth upto the end of the fourteenth century A.D., and in the realm of Bengali Muslim thought, such as Sŭfiism, predominance of Northern India was not only very conspicuous, but also unusually prolonged and over-powering. The Sŭfis of Northern India had been at the helm of Bengali Muslim thought for these centuries. From the different Sŭfī centres of Northern India, Muslim Saints of reputed miraculous power and unquestionable piety were sent to Bengal and they were really directly responsible for propagation of Islām and of Sŭfistic ideas in this country. One thing to mark here is this that those Sŭfis were imbued with the ideals of Sŭfiism, as these were realised by and current among the Northern Indian Sŭfis. They were taught in the school of Northern Indian Sŭfī thought ; they worked under the guidance and directions of Northern Indian Sŭfis, and applied the methods of their masters to this country. Such imitative state of Northern Indian Sŭfī thought was prevalent in Bengal upto the fifteenth century A. D., after which Sŭfis of Bengal more or less severed their connections with their Northern Indian masters and tried to adjust their own thought to the thought of this province. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Sŭfiism in Bengal, along with Sŭfiism in India, was in a metamorphic stage, after which it took almost an independent form with a mixture of local as well as extra-territorial thoughts.

However, before we enter into the detailed account of the Sŭfis, we think it advisable to divide the whole history of Sŭfiism in India into a few segments. We are at the same time aware of the difficulties that are generally involved with the sticking of any particular label to any period that concerns a

thought movement. Though a movement in the realm of thought is generally started before its effects are visible in outward actions, yet we cannot account for its history until after its partial manifestation takes place in some concrete form. Hence, we are not wholly unjustified in our present attempt. The main current of Sufi movement in India may be divided into following heads in consideration of certain conspicuous tendencies that appeared from time to time :

1. Early Period—from 1000 A. D., to 1150 A. D.
2. Period of Establishment—1150 A. D., to 1400 A. D.
3. Period of Fusion—1350 A. D. downward
4. Period of Reformation—1550 A. D. downward.

#### *Early Period :*

The early period of the Sufi movement in India, begins from the beginning of the eleventh century A. D., and closes with the usherment of the thirteenth century A. D. Itinerant Sufis, generally known as darvishes, of Bukhārā, Eraly period and Samarqand and Persia and probably also those of its characteristics Arabia and Syria turned their attention to India during this period. The first and foremost duties in the lives of these saints were to preach the true faith among those who were outside it and to dedicate their lives to the service of humanity. Inspired with those ideals they crossed the western boundaries of India, which were known to them as early as the eighth century A.D. Who was the first Sufi to enter India and who were those to follow his wake, are not definitely known to us. Stray names of saints are available from many a quarter of India, but unfortunately they are so mixed up with myth and legend that we are not in a position to make any definite statement with regard to these earliest personalities. So far as we know, these earliest preachers had worked singlehanded, since they had either no worthy deputies (Khalifahs) or very few followers who could take up the work, left unfinished by them. They, it appears, came to India without any definite mandate from

any particular group of Sufis. Their activities were confined only to the localities where they came or where they settled, and they do not seem to have been so very successful in their propaganda, owing to the existing political and social conditions of the country. Their attempts at proselytism were probably merely sporadic ones and their advent to this land was really occasional. However, we give below brief life-sketches of a few of the earliest Sufi missionaries of India, who seem to have been historical persons :

(a) Shaykh Ismā'il : He came of the celebrated Sayyad family of Bukhārā and was well-versed in both secular and theological learning. He came to India - (a) India and settled at Lahore in or about the year 1005 A. D. It is said that crowds flocked to listen to his sermons, and that no unbeliever ever came into personal contact with him without being converted to the faith of Islam'.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Sayyad Nathar Shāh : The Muḥammadan community of the Ravuttans, found in large numbers in the districts of Madura, North Arcot, Coimbatore, Tinnevely and the Nilgiris in the Madras presidency, assert that they were converted to Islām by a group of Muslim preachers among whom Sayyad Nathar Shāh (969-1039 A.D.) was the most famous one. It is said and generally believed that this saint travelled through many countries, such as Arabia, Persia, and many parts of Northern India and at last entered the Deccan to settle in Trichinopoly where he died in the year 1039 A. D. His tomb is one of the holiest places of pilgrimage to the Muslims of the Southern India.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Preaching of Islam*, T. W. Arnold, Westminster, 1896, p. 280 ; *Indian Islam*, M. T. Titus, Oxford University Press, 1930 p. 42.

2. *Madras District Gazetteers*, 1907, Trichinopoly, 1, p. 338 ; *Preaching of Islam*, p. 267 ; *Indian Islam* p. 48 ; *En-cyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XI p. 69.

(c) Shah Sultān Rūmī : One old Persian document, executed in the year 1671 A.D. (1082 A.H) has revealed the name of this saint, in whose memory Shah Sultān Rūmī was dedicated certain rent-free lands which the government tried to resume from the possession of the Mutawalli or trustee. This document records that the Koch King of the locality of Madanpur in Netrakona sub-division of Mymensing district (Bengal) tried to poison the saint who arrived at his dominion with his religious preceptor Sayyad Shāh Surkh Khul Antiah in the year 445 A.H. (1053 A.D.). This saint with his wonderful miraculous power, baffled the aim of the Rājā, who afterwards was obliged to accept Islām and dedicate the whole village to the revered memory of the saint and future spiritual successors.<sup>1</sup> We shall elaborately discuss the life and activities of this saint along with other lives of the saints of Bengal.

(d) ‘Abdullāh :— This saint landed on the shore of Gujrat in 1065 A.D., and carried on his missionary propaganda in or around Cambay. He came to India from Yaman and belonged to Ismā‘īlī faith of Islām. It is said that on account of his active missionary propaganda among the Hindus of Gujrat, many of them were converted to Islāmic faith. These converts are now called the Bohrahs, who still regard him as their first saint and missionary.<sup>2</sup>

(e) Dātā Ganj Bakhsh Lahorī : He was a great Sūfī, a well-known traveller and an eminent Sūfī savant. His learned book, Kashfu-l-Mahjūb, where he treated of the lives, teachings and observances of the Sūfīs, speaks of his profound learning in the Sūfistic lore. His real name was Makhdūm Sayyad ‘Alī Ulūwwī al-Hujwiri. After a long travel over the tracts of

1. *Bengal District Gazetteer—Mymensingh*, 1917, p. 152.

2. *Indian Islam*, pp. 43, 98 ; *Madhāhibu-l-Islam*, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1924, p. 272.

Muslim world, he came to India in the latter part of his life and settled at Lahore. From the inscription attached to his shrine at Lahore, we come to know definitely that he died in the year 465 A.H. (1072 A.D.). His shrine is still a famous place of pilgrimage to the thousands of visitors hailing from the different distant places of Northern India.<sup>1</sup>

(f) Nūru'd-Dīn : This saint is generally known as Nūr Satāgar. He belonged to the Ismā'īlī sect of the

(f) Musalmans, and was sent from Alamut in Persia; Nūru'd-Dīn to Gujrat during the reign of Siddha Rāj (A.D. 1094-1143 A.D.). It is said that he was a great missionary of wonderful divine power who converted the Kaubis, Kharwas and Koris, all of whom belonged to the low-caste Hindus. The Muslim community of the Khojahs regard him as their first missionary.<sup>2</sup>

(g) Bābā Ādam Shāhid : Many versions of a single story, relating the activities of this warrior-saint, are still

(g) current in East Bengal. He came to Bengal during Bābā Ādam the reign of Rājā Ballāla Sena, with whom he (d. 1119 A.D.?) fought for the cause of Islām and courted martyrdom probably in 1119 A.D., the year of the death of Rājā Ballāla Sena.<sup>3</sup> He lies buried in a sepulchre of architectural beauty, situated in the village of 'Abdullāhpur in Bikrampur, Dacca. We shall elaborately discuss the life and activity of this saint afterwards.

(h) Muḥammad 'Alī :— This saint landed on the shore of Gujarat in the beginning of the twelfth century

(h) A.D. He is generally given the credit of being Muḥammad 'Alī the first missionary to one section of the Khojas. (d. 1137 A.D.) He died in the year 1137 A.D. and his tomb at Cambay is regarded as a holy place<sup>4</sup>

1. *Kashfu-l-Mahjub*, tran. R.A. Nicholson, London, 1911, introduction; *Ency. Is.*, p. 927; *Bhāratiya Madhya Yuge Sadhanār Dhārā*, Calcutta University, p. 9.

2. *Preaching of Islam*, p. 275; *Indian Islam*, p. 43.

3. *Contributions to the Geography & History of Bengal* Blochman, pp. 76-77; R. D. Benerjee *Bāngalār Itihās*, Vol 1, 2d ed., pp. 320-323.

4. *Indian Islam*, p. 98.

These are the few historical personages who figure prominently in the early history of Sufism in India. There are many other persons, claiming to belong to this period, of whom we either know very little or hear of only myths and legends of absurd and quite incredible nature. The short accounts of the lives of saints, given above, will show that these missionary-saints did not come to a single tract or province of India in quick succession. This vast continent of India, extending from Lahore on the north to Trichinopoly on the South, from Gujarat on the west to Bengal on the east, was, as if chosen to be a field of their activities. In comparison with the vastness of the country, the inspiration, claimed to be divine but drawn from within, was but simply inadequate, and the numerical strenght of these preachers was but very negligible. Religious intolerance and persecution were not unheard of things in those ancient days.

Probable causes of failure of early missionary propaganda. when the local Kings (of course there had been some honourable exceptions) often tried to extirpate the foreign missionaries from their kingdoms. It is not unlikely that the activities of some were cut short by martyrdom at the hands of kings or people who did not like their preaching and their ways. These were the probable causes, largely contributing to the failure of the missions of the early Sufis of India:

But, one thing they achieved and that is the preparation of a suitable field of work for the generations to come. On the foundation laid down by thier piety, zeal, and selfsacrifice, the succeeding generations of Sufis could easily build

Their failure proved as a success. up a lofty but beautiful fabric with the materials of India as well as of Persia. These first missionaries awoke the consciousness of the Indians to the advent of a new light and that was Islām. This

produced a good result for the future propaganda so that when in the latter part of the twelfth century, the Sufis began to come to India in an unbroken chain of succession, they were often welcomed and accepted as men of good life who had a massage to give. In this way, the early Sufis laid a good foundation of success by their failures.

*Period of Establishment (1150-1400 A.D.):*

Real and continuous Sufi activities in India began from the closing years of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Henceforward Sufis of outstanding personality began to come to India one after another in quick succession. They worked vigorously and their work was not in vain. People did no more turn their backs to them. Hearty responses from all quarters of India came forth and the Sufis soon found themselves amidst large number of disciples. Within a few centuries they, their disciples, the disciples of their disciples, were able to capture the imagination of large masses of people who voluntarily accepted the new faith and propagated the new ideas. In this way, through the agency of both Indian and extra-Indian Sufis, Sufism was established in this country on a firm footing.

*A. The Chishtis ;—* During the close of the early period, the first Sufi, known by his association with one of his disciples of far wider fame, was perhaps Shaykh Husayn of Zanjān, a city near Azarbijān. We know nothing about this Sufi save that he settled at Lahore where he died and was interred and that Khawājah Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī was under his instruction for sometime at Lahore.<sup>1</sup> Probably this early saint died before 1200 A.D.

The next and most prominent Sufi to name, was Khawājah Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī. His name is still a household word to almost all of the Muslims of India. He not only left behind him an immortal name, but also a long-line of spiritual successors, almost equally celebrated, enthusiastic and active. He was born in Sistan, a southern district of Afghanistan in the year 1142 A.D., and became an orphan on the death of his father at the age of fifteen. In a village called Hārūn in Nishāpūr, near Mashhad, he lived a long life of austerity and self-mortification under the instruction of Khawājah Uthmān Chishtī ( d. 1220 A.D. ) from

1. *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol III, trans., H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1894, p. 362.

whom he ultimately inherited spiritual successorship. In course of his long travel through Persia, 'Irāq, Mecca, and Medina, he met with many eminent Ṣūfīs of his time, viz., 'Abdu-'l-Qādir Jilānī (1078-1166 A.D.), Khwājah Quṭbu-'d-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (1142-1236 A.D.) and many others, from whom, it is said, he derived spiritual benefit.

The cause of his arrival in India is accounted for in a miraculous way. It is said that when he was at Medina as a pilgrim to the Prophet's sepulchre, he was invisibly ordered by the Prophet to repair to India, the home of the heathen, and preach the religion of Islām in and around the locality of Ajmir. Whatever might have been the cause of his arrival in India, there is no doubt that a voice from within inspired and prompted him to undertake the task of preaching Islām. With this self-imposed duty in view, only a few months before the last invasion of India by Sulṭān Shihābu-'d-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī (1189-1205 A.D.), he entered India at the beginning of the year 1193 A.D., reached Lahore where he lived for two months in the shrine of Dātā Ganj Bakḥsh and then after a few halts at several places arrived at Delhi whence he reached Ajmir in the last part of the same year (i.e. 1193 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

When he reached Ajmir in 1193 A.D., his proselytising activities became very conspicuous within a few days of his arrival. Many people were attracted to him by his miraculous

1. As regards the date of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī's arrival at Ajmir, there are many discrepancies. But in all hagiologies, it has been unanimously admitted that from Delhi he came to Ajmir at a time when Rājā Prithviraj was reigning there and that following his arrival the fall of the Rājā occurred. In almost all of the Urdu memoirs of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī with which we have come across, the date of his arrival at Ajmir has been fixed at 561 A.H. corresponding to 1165 A.D. In Firishtah (Chap. XII) too, the date is 561 A.H., but in Ain (p. 362), it is 589 A.H., = 1193 A.D. Any way we do not see how the date 1165 A.D. can be reconciled with the historical date of the last invasion of India (1193 A.D.) by Muḥammad Ghūrī. Hence we accept the date of Ain here.



deeds and consequently he came in collision with Rājā Prithvirāj, the then King of Ajmir, and with many Hindu Yogis or Saints whom he is said to have vanquished by his superior miraculous power. As a result of his collision with Prithvirāj, he, it is said, prophesied that the king would soon be defeated and killed by the Muslims. If he really prophesied thus, truly his prophesy was fulfilled: a few months after the arrival of the saint at Ajmir, Sulṭān Muḥammad Ghūrī invaded India for the last time and defeated, captured and killed Rājā Prithvirāj during the close of the year, 1193 A. D., on the memorable battlefield of Tarain or Tiraūrī, where all powerful princes of Northern India assembled under the banner of the latter to give battle to the Muslim invader. It is a well-known fact that on this historic battlefield the Turks broke the back of Hindu power in Northern India. If for this reason only, we give so much historical importance to the battle, we do not know, why we should not attach the same, nay even more historical importance to the arrival of Khwājah Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī, at Ajmir; for, with the preaching of Islām a new social and cultural order began in India.

No matter, whether as a result of the saint's prophesy or of some accidents, the fall of the Rājā was hastened; but it seems to be a historical fact that the saint's arrival at Ajmir was followed by the Rājā's fall. As if, the saint heralded the news of the decline of Hindu power and the rise of that of the Muslims in India. To speak the truth, he was the man who first planted the true seed of Islām in Indian soil and introduced a new set of Islāmic ideas and thought, hitherto unknown to the Indians. He was a great poet too, and composed a large number of Ghazals in Persian, which are still available in the book-market of India in the form of Dīwān or anthology. This great poet-saint died on the 18th March, 1236 A. D. in Ajmir.

Khwājah Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī was a great Śūfī, a great preacher and great saint of uncommon piety. He was an eminent organizer too. He organized an efficient group of Śūfīs,—both Indian and foreign and with their help he started a regular Islām mission which survived him and worked for centuries. The Śūfīs

belonging to his order are generally known as the Chishtis and many of them were active propagandists, good preachers, and men of reputed miraculous powers (*Karāmāt*). Islāmic thought and mystic philosophy was brought home to the people of India by them. Within the span of only a few years, their zealous and ever-increasing activities were felt from one corner of India to the other.

Khwājah Quṭbu'-d-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (1142-1236 A.D.) of Ūch, near Baghdād, was the principal "*Khalīfah*" or spiritual vicegerent of Khwājah Mu'īnu'-d-Dīn Chishtī. Like his master, he was also a great poet, and a big anthology of his poems is still available in the book-market of Delhi. He settled in Delhi the capital city of India, whence he exerted a great influence over the whole of Northern India. Leaving aside the question of western part of Northern India, where hundreds of Mu'īnu'-d-Dīn's spiritual successors worked for him, the eastern provinces such as Bihar and Bengal also, were brought under their influence. Shāh 'Abdullāh Kirmānī of Birbhum, Bengal, was the first Chishtī saint who worked in Bengal for his master Khwājah Mu'īnu'-d-Dīn in the beginning of the thirteenth Century A.D.<sup>1</sup> He was a great saint who organized a new group in his own name and his activities were chiefly confined to west Bengal and Bihar.

Of Khwājah Mu'īnu'-d-Dīn Chishtī's spiritual successors, the name of Bakhtiyār Kākī has just now been mentioned above. Among Kākī's spiritual successors, the name of Bābā Farīdu'-d-Dīn Shākr-ganj should be mentioned first. He was born in a village called Khutwal, near Mulṭān at Pākṣattan, in the Punjab. He died on Monday, the 15th September, 1269 A. D.<sup>2</sup> and was a great Šufī, preacher and traveller. So far as our present information goes, he was the first Chishtī Šufī who visited the Deccan and converted a considerable number of Hindus to the Muslim faith. These converts are known as the Dudekulas of Southern India.<sup>3</sup> Everywhere in Bengal a tradition of Bābā Farīd's arrival in the country is still current and a

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind* (Urdu) Mirza Muḥammad Akhtar, part I, p. 103.

2. *Atn-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, pp. 363-64.

3. *Preaching of Islam*, p. 267; *Indian Islam*, pp. 47, 48.

close examination of this tradition, as it is preserved by the people of different localities convinces us to believe that he came to Bengal at least once.

Bābā Farīd was succeeded by two of the most famous saints of India, and they were 'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Alī Aḥmad Ṣābir of Pirān-i-Kiliyar (1196-1291) near Rurki, and Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā of Delhi (1236-1325). These two saints were as active as their master and both of them formed two distinct orders of their followers, known after their own names. Two of the disciples of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā were successively sent to Dewgiri, Deccan, and they were Mīr Ḥasan 'Alāyī of Sanjir (d. 1335 A.D.) and Shaykh Burhānu'd-Dīn Ghārīb (d. 1339 A.D.). Both of them died and were buried in Dewgiri. His another disciple Akhī Sirāju'd-Dīn (d. 1357 A.D.) was sent to Bengal and from him a long line of spiritual successors proceeded.

B. The Suhrawardīs: Another man, a contemporary of Khwājah Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī, exerted a tremendous influence in India during the period of establishment. He was Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī of Baghdād (1147-1234 A.D.). He was a great saint of wide renown, whom the people of Baghdād, Persia, 'Irāq, Samarqand, Bukhārā and Aghānistān used to visit for spiritual training. He never came to India; but India owes so much to him for Sūfism that his revered name can not be omitted here. Many of his disciples and successors were famous saints of India. Like his illustrious contemporary Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, he left behind him a long line of successors who covered the whole of Northern India within a few centuries. One of his Northern Indian disciples, named Shaykh Jalālu'd-Dīn Tabrizī<sup>1</sup> reached Bengal before 1200 A.D., when Rājā Lakṣmaṇa Sena the last Hindu King of Bengal, was reigning. He was born of a very poor Muslim family of Etāwa (Aṭṭāva) in the United Provinces (now known as Uttar Pradesh) of India and after twelve years of study in different branches of learning, he was compelled to leave his native place and

1. Vide chapter on Bengali Sūfis—Varendra centre.

roam over a vast tract of land. In the course of his wanderings, he acquired, by dint of his long service, the merit of spiritual succession from Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī. He at last settled in Bengal and converted many people to Islamic faith. He died in Pandua in the district of Maldah, Bengal, in the year 1225 A. D.

Qādī Hamidu'd-Dīn of Nāgūr, another great saint of India was born in Bukhārā and came to Delhi with his father during the reign of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Shām. He served for three years as Qādī at Nāgūr; but at last he resigned the service, went to Baghdād and became the disciple of Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī. From Baghdād he returned to India and settled in the capital city of Delhi whence he tried to exert his influence all around. He died on Sunday, the 9th November, 1246, in Delhi and was buried there.<sup>1</sup> One of Nāgūrī's disciples, Shaykh Ahmad by name, attained a high celebrity and his field of activity was at Badāyun where he died and was buried.<sup>2</sup>

Among the Indian spiritual successors of Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī, Bahā'u'd-Dīn Dhakriyā of Multān (1169-1266 A. D.) was the most celebrated and most active. He followed the tradition of his master like a devoted and a loyal lieutenant. It was through his activities, the specific theosophical creed of the Suhrawardīs was established in India. He gathered around him a large band of followers, many of whom attained India-wide fame. Among these the name of Sayyad Jalālu'd-Dīn Surkhpush of Bukhārā (1191-1291 A.D.) requires special mention here. He belonged to the celebrated Sayyad family of Bukhārā, which gave birth to a good number of famous saints having an intimate connection with India. He came to India and settled at Uch (now in Bhawalpur) where he died in the year 1291 A. D. Surkhpush was spiritually succeeded by his grandson Sayyad Jalāl-bin-Ahmad Kabīr, generally known as Makhdūm Jahāniyān (Lord

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol III, p. 367; *Tadhkirah*, part I, p. 47.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 369.

of Mankind). (1307-1383 A.D.). He was a great traveller, who visited all parts of the Muslim world and preached Islām everywhere. A large number of Hindus of Bengal and Sind were converted to Islām by him. He died on the 2nd February, 1383 A.D. at Uch and was buried there.<sup>1</sup> One grandson of Makhdūm Jahāniyān, named Sayyad Muḥammad Shāh 'Ālam (d. 1475 A.D.) was no less famous than any of his ancestors. 'He played an important part in the political and religious life of his time; his tomb is at Rasulabad near Ahmadabad'.<sup>2</sup>

C. The Junaydis : So far as our knowledge goes, the The Junaydis were the earliest Sūfis, of whom we know Junaydis. something. Although they had a very early history to tell, yet owing to utter lack of materials, we cannot discover a link of their Indian successors. Hujwiri was the earliest of the Junaydis, of whom we have already said something in connection with the earliest Sūfis of India. Hujwiri, better known as Dātā Ganj Baksh, was a native of Ghazna in Afghānistān. He settled at Lahore where his tomb is still visited by a large number of pilgrims every year. He was spiritually connected with Junayd of Baghdād (d. 910 A.D.), the founder of the Junaydi order of darvishes.<sup>3</sup> In his famous book on Sūfism, Hujwiri himself admits that he was the disciple of one Abu-l-Faḍl Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan al-Khuttalī who held the doctrine of Junayd in Sūfism.<sup>4</sup> Who spiritually succeeded Hujwiri in India, we do not know. Perhaps, he had none to succeed him here. In case there was a succession, there is no doubt that the link was broken by a long gap of nearly two hundred years, which was not filled up until after the advent of the Suhrawardis to India.

During the first half of the fourteenth century, we hear of the career of a prominent Sūfi, called Bābā Ishāq Maghribi

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 369; *Tadhkirah*, part III pp. 147-150.

2. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, part II, p. 488; *Indian Islam*, p. 123.

3. *Kashfu'l-Mahjūb*, Preface, pp. I, XVII and foot note p. XVII.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

who belonged to this order of Sufis. Born in Delhi, he came in contact with many eminent Sufis of his time and chose Khattu as a place of his activity and permanent residence. Henceforward, Khattu became the centre of considerable interest to all belonging to this order of Sufis. He flourished during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq (1325-51 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

The work began by Bābā Ishāq was vigorously carried on by one of his spiritual successors, named Shaykh Naṣṭru'-d-Dīn Aḥmad of Khattu. He was born in Delhi in the year 1336 A.D., of a noble family of that city. This man directed his missionary campaign to Gurjrat where he reached during the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad (1411-1443). He was successful in his mission and many people received him with honour and respect. He died and was buried at Sarkhech near Ahmadabad.<sup>2</sup>

One of the Sufis belonging to this order, was Shaykh Bahā'u'-d-Dīn Junaydī. He worked in Sirhind and died there in the year 1515 A.D. It is said that he liked perfumes of any kind.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, we have not yet met with any further account of activities of the Sufis of this order. Only one or two stray names are found here and there, which require no special mention. Probably, this order produced no other prominent Sufis in India in the succeeding ages.

D. The Shattāris : During the last half of the fourteenth century another man introduced a new order of the darvishes to India. This man was 'Abdullāh Shattāri who died in Malwa in the year 1406 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Just like his eminent predecessors, 'Abdullah might have been spiritually succeeded by a long chain of successors, but unfortunately no such record is at present available. When he entered India, other orders of darvishes were very active. 'Abdullah brought with him a new set of ideas and somewhat

1. *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol III, p. 371.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 352, 371.

3. *Tadhkirah*, part III, p. 18.

4. *Indian Islam*, p. 123.

fresh system of Sufi thought which had very little similarity with those of other orders of darvishes.<sup>1</sup> Indians could not, in all probability, accept him very warmly for the reasons of novelties introduced by him. However, The Shattaris. his struggle for the establishment of this new order in India, was not in vain. Though we do not know the extent of his success in India, we are more than sure that 'Abdullāh left behind him a long line of spiritual successors who took up the unfinished work, already begun by their master. Among his successors, many saints were of outstanding personality and India-wide fame : Muḥammad Ghawṭh, the spiritual instructor of emperor Humāyūn, was a great saint of his time who died in A.D. 1562 at Gwalior.<sup>2</sup> Bahā'u'd-Dīn of Jaunpur and his spiritual successor Mir Sayyad 'Alī Qawwām (d. 1499 A.D.) of the same place were Shattārī Sufis of wide repute.<sup>3</sup> Shāh Pīr, who died in the year 1632 A.D., and was interred at Meerut, was another great Shattārī saint in whose memory the empress Nūr Jahān built a magnificent tomb.<sup>4</sup>

E. The Qādiris : One of the living and most prominent Sufi orders of the Muslim world was introduced to India by 'Abdu'l-Karīm ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jīlī in the year 1388 A.D. This order was the order of the Qādiris. 'Abdu'l-Karīm was born in A.D. 1365, in Jīlān or Gilān, a province south of the Caspian Sea, where 'Abdu'l-Qādir, the accredited founder of the famous Qādirī order, was born exactly two hundred years before the birth of 'Abdu'l-Karīm. He was a The Qadiris. great Sufi poet and a learned theosophical author whose "*Insānu'l-Kāmil*" or the "Perfect Man" and "*Nawādiru'l-Ayniyyah*" or the "Rarity of Vision" still testify

1. For the detailed study of the thought and ideas of the Shattaris vide *Irshādatul 'Ārifin*, translated by Khajja Khān ; vide article on "Shattariya" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
2. *Muntakhabu't-Tawārikh*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol III, pp. 4-6.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol III, p. 373.
4. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol XI, pp. 68-73.

to his wonderfur ability as an independent Sufī thinker. 'He mentions that in A.H. 790 corresponding to A.D., 1388 he was in India at a place named Kushi where he conversed with a man under sentence of death for the murder of three notables.'<sup>1</sup> For how many years, he had been in India,—we do not know. Probably just after his Indian tour, he settled 'at Zabīdan in Yemen with his Shaykh, Sharafu'd-Dīn Ismā'īl-ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Jabartī. The earliest date referring to his stay at Zabīdan is A.H. 796=A.D. 1393-4, and the latest A. H. 805=A.D. 1402-3'. From this, we can surmise that the period of his stay in India might have covered six to fifteen years. He died at Zabīdan sometime between A.D. 1406-1417.

The next Qādirī saint who visited India, was one of the descendants of the illustrious founder of this order. His name was Shāh Sayyad Niāmātullāh. Though he was a Sufī of no mean order, it seems that, he could not popularise his order in India. Probably without any active spiritual successor, he died in the year 1430 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The work, which he could not finish, was ably performed by another man of his own illustrious family and he was Sayyad Muḥammad Ghawṭh of Jīlān or Gīlān. This great saint and propagandist came to India in the year 1482 A.D. and soon took up the work of his predecessors in his hand. He succeeded in his mission, died in the year 1517 at Uch where he permanently settled and left behind him a long chain of spiritual successors, many of whom were famous and capable men. As for example we may cite the name of Shaykh Mīr Muḥammad, generally known as Miyān Mīr (d. 1635 A. D.), the religious and spiritual guide of prince Dārā Shikūh, brother of Aurangzīb.<sup>3</sup>

1. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* by R. A. Nicholson p. 81 ; foot note No. 2 p. 81 ; appendix I. p. 143.
2. *Tadhkirah* part III. p. 17.
3. *Tadhkirah*, part III, p. 18 ; *Majma'u-l-Baḥrayn*, ( tran. and pub. by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1929 ), introduction.



**From The Madaris or the 'Uwaysis :** This order was first introduced into India by Badī'u-d-Dīn entitled Shāh-i-Madār. So long, scholars had been entertaining doubt about the historicity of this renowned saint. Although the saint played a very conspicuous part in the development of Sūfism in India and though the historic relics and traces were not wanting in many places of Northern India, yet he was considered as a mythical person to whom the ignorant people of the whole of Gangetic plain were fabulously attached due to gross superstition. We hope, these doubts will now be dispelled by the following account of Badī'u-d-Dīn taken from "*Mirāt-i-Madārī*" written in the year 1653 A. D. and preserved in manuscript form in the Buhar Library, Calcutta.

Badī'u-d-Dīn was the son of one Abū Ishāq of Syria, a descendant of the ancient Israelites. At one of the auspicious dawns of 1315 A.D. (A.H. 715), he was born amidst the halo of heavenly light which brilliantly illuminated his father's house in Syria. His real name was Badī'u-d-Dīn, but as he was the most illustrious saint of his time, he was called the "Shāh-i-Madār" or "Quṭbu-l-Madār" both the titles meaning "Axis of Saints." He received a good education in his early days. He mastered the Qurān, the Old and New Testaments, the Psalms of David and other theological lore before he passed his teens.<sup>1</sup>

Shāh-i-Madār belonged to the Uwysī order of darvishes. The reputed founder of this order was the famous saint Uwys Qarānī, a younger contemporary of the Prophet. The chief characteristic of this order is the non-admissibility of Pīr as a guide to the goal of union with God.<sup>2</sup>

The exact date of the advent of Shāh-i-Madār to India is not known. From "*Latā'if-i-Ashrafī*" of the famous Indian Saint Mīr Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (d. 1405 A.D.), we come to know

1. MS. *Merāt-i-Madārī*, Buhar Library, Calcutta, pp. 8-23.

2. MS. *Mirāt-i-Madārī*, p. 40-43.

that Mīr Ashraf was a companion of Badī'u-d-Dīn in one of his tours to the holy city of Mecca. On his arrival at Mecca Mīr Ashraf parted with his companion who started for India.<sup>1</sup> When Badī'u-d-Dīn reached India, Emperor Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (1351-88 A. D.) was reigning at Delhi.<sup>2</sup> From this, it is clear that he came to India in a certain year between 1351 and 1388 A. D. On his arrival at India, he first visited Gujrat and then Ajmir<sup>3</sup> where he visited the tomb of Khwājah Mu'in-d-Dīn Chishtī from whom he received invisibly the permission to leave the place for Kanuj. On his way to Kanuj, he lived for sometime at Kalpi,<sup>4</sup> where he was received with great honour by the deputy of Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq.<sup>5</sup> Then he visited Kanuj, Lucknow, Kantur and Jaunpur.<sup>6</sup> When he reached the neighbourhood of Jaunpur, Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (1400-1440 A. D.), his Qādī and all the people of the town came out in procession to give a hearty reception to the great saint. He stayed at Jaunpur for a few years and preached his new creed among the people who became his disciples in large numbers. From Jaunpur, Badī'u-d-Dīn Shāb-i-Madār repaired to Makanpur, near the city of Cawnpore in Oudh where he settled permanently and died there on Thursday, 18th Jumadi I, A. H. 840 corresponding to 1436 A. D., at the age of 125 years.<sup>7</sup>

During his long tour from one end of the country to the other, he made many converts to Islām and many disciples to take up the task, he had already begun. We do not take any notice of the incredible accounts of thousands of miracles which are said to have been wrought by this great saint. These stories only testify to the veneration in which he is held by the people in general.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 40 ; *Tadhkirah*, part I, p. 147.

2. MS. *Mirāt-i-Madārī*, p. 64.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 68, III, 114, 117.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Shāh-i-Madār was succeeded by many eminent Sūfis of India, among whom 'Abdu-'l-Quddus of Ganguh (d. 1543 A.D.) was very famous. Emperor Humāyūn visited him for the decision of some controversial points on a religious matter.<sup>1</sup>

One of the Bengali disciples of Shāh-i-Madār was Shāh Allāh who was perhaps the first Madārī deputy in Bengal. He was stationed at Gour in the district of Maldah.<sup>2</sup>

G. The Naqshbandis : In the last part of the fifteenth century, another new darvish order, called the Naqshbandi, was introduced into India by Khwājah Bāqī Billāh (d. 1603 A.D.). The founder of this order was Baha'u-d-Dīn Naqshband or the Painter. He was a native of Turkistan, died in the year 1398 A.D. and was buried in Bukhārā. Khwājah Bāqī Billāh, who first brought the teachings of the Naqshbandis to India, was born in Delhi but educated and brought up in Kabul and Samarcand where he came in contact with the Naqshbandi School of thought and admitted himself to that school. Being imbued with the teachings of that school of Sūfi thought, he returned to India and preached his new ideas to this country. But he was not very successful in his mission. He settled in Delhi and died there in the year 1603 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

"This order does not seem to have been as much favoured with success as the earlier orders. Perhaps this is due to the fact of its late entry on the scene, as it came to India about four centuries after Khwājah Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī made his appearance with his order, which has the largest following of all the fraternities. However, in recent times there has been a Naqshbandi revival in the Punjab and Kashmir. It is specially favoured by the educated."<sup>4</sup>

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 374.
2. MS. *Mirāt-i-Madārī*, p. 136.
3. *Tadhkirah*, part III, p. 90-92 ; *Indian Islam*, p. 124.
4. *Indian Islam*, pp. 124-125,

From the above accounts where we have tried to trace the history of Sufi movement in India, it will be seen that this movement of Islamic theosophic thought was firmly established on the Indian soil in the course of three centuries, viz. twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth. It is really amazing to note that in the course of these three centuries, every nook and corner of India resounded with the Sufistic echoes, produced by the Indians.

**Period of Fusion (1350 A. D. downward) :**

By the middle of the fourteenth century, spread of Sufiism in India was somewhat complete. This certainly does not mean that it did not expand after that period ; but it took a different colour and adopted somewhat new course. It is certain that it did not cut off all its connections with the past, but it modified itself with so many accretions that it, in many cases, became quite amazingly new. We shall, afterwards, try to trace the course, it adopted, and point out some of its prominent colours, it had assumed.

In the history of Indian thought, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be characterised as the time, when two different sets of ideas and separate systems of thought—Indian as well as Islāmic—were fused into one. The tendency to this fusion was visible from an early date. From the middle of the fourteenth century signs were not wanting which prognosticated an age of complete fusion within a very short time. It was however not completed until after the completion of the sixteenth century A. D.

India's capacity for absorption is ever wonderful : from the very beginning of her historical period up to the advent of the Muslims, she had been absorbing many nations, such as the Persians, the Śakas, the Huns, the Greeks and others, who had set foot on her soil. When the Turks inspired with a new faith came to India together with their Islāmic civilisation and culture, India's unique capacity for absorption, though inactive

for sometime, was not deadened by the introduction of Islām into this land of the Aryan Hindus. One thing is wonderfully predominating in Islām and that is its strong character—its strength in thought and ideas, strength in ways and modes of life, strength in art and architecture and above all strength in the pure monotheistic belief in God. It was this strength which made Islām a religion of millions of humanity, including different races and colours, within a very short span of time. When in the beginning of the eleventh century A. D., the Muslims entered India, they undoubtedly possessed much of this strength which temporarily repressed the heart of India, that is her inherent capacity for absorption. But within a short time, after one or two centuries, India awoke from her temporary torpor and went on exerting her absorptive influence as vigorously as before. At first Islām, however, in its own hauteur refused to be and could not be absorbed, but later on an unconscious compromise came in. It is a fact that Islām could not infuse the same strength into the Indian Muslims as it did in the case of the Arabs. Physical features and climatic conditions of this vast country, as well as the natural philosophic bent and the peculiar trend of Indian mind were the chief causes which stood in the way of true Islāmic influence on India. Hence, in course of time, Islām in India began to lose its former strength and identify herself in many respects with the culture, thoughts and ideas of this country.

The closest spiritual bond of unity between India and Persia is another factor which led to the ultimate fusion of Islāmic and Indian thought. When Islām, the strong and austere religion of the Semites, extended itself towards the east, it first absorbed the Persian culture of the Aryans and thereby admitted silently a part of the Aryan culture within its fold. It was becoming the inheritor of the culture of the Greeks, another Aryan speaking race. When Islām entered India along with the advent of the sufis, it was

not the pristine, strong and austere religion of the Semites. Accretions of Persian and Greek elements had already softened it to a great extent and a healthy Aryan mind, brooding deeply over the Unseen, was manifestly peeping through the heart of Islām. This is one of the reasons, why Islām of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not feel so uncongenial and unacceptable to the new Indian atmosphere as it did three centuries before. India too found friends in her new-comers not so unfamiliar and alien as before, and hence did not shun them as they did before. In this way, the minds of India and Islām came closer and was attracted to each other, ultimately resulting in a fusion of the two.

Who was the first man to declare bravely the message of this fusion ? This important question may be answered by the following words of Mr. J. N. Farquhar : "It was through the teachings of Sufis that Islām found entrance to Hindu hearts. They fraternized with Hindu ascetics and gurus ; Kabir as the and each learned to respect the others' religious mouthpiece of faith and life. But not until the last quarter of fusion. the fifteenth century did the movement show any notable force. Kabir was the man through whom the leading ideas were popularised. From this time the condemnation of idolatry and polytheism became frequent."<sup>1</sup>

In the history of fusion of Indian and Islāmic thought, Kabir's is an outstanding personality. His birth took place in the year 1398 A. D., and death in 1448 A. D.<sup>2</sup> Within the limits of this short period, the wonders, Kabir as the he wrought, were simply amazing to the whole of product of India. The minds of Islām and India, which were Indian and Islāmic influence. so long leaning towards each other, all at once found out a good meeting ground in Kabir. The new ideas, that had, so long, been working in the realm of Indian

1. *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, by J. N. Farquhar. Oxford University Press, 1920 p. 284.
2. *Bhāratiya Madhya Yuge Sādhanaṛ Dhārā*, Calcutta University, p. 63.

thought discovered a good mouthpiece in him. Indian *Vedānta* and Islamic *Tasawwuf* mingled in him in such a way that it some times becomes simply difficult to distinguish one from the other. His latitudinarian views that can be gathered from his poems<sup>1</sup> and sayings, clearly show that he belonged neither to the Muslims, nor to the Hindus,—rather he was the creation of the two. Such a man was he, with the birth of whom began a new era in the history of movement of Indian thought.<sup>2</sup>

Kabir was born of a Muḥammadan weaver of Benares and from his early years, he showed the tendency of a recluse and a thoughtful man. This ultimately led him to his becoming a mystic of immortal name. However, he was for sometimes under the instruction of Rāmānanda, a Hindu mystic of the Deccan (probable date—1300-1470)<sup>3</sup> and of *Shaykh* Taqī Suhrawardī, a great Muslim saint of Suhrawardī order. None of these two saints and mystic of two opposite mainly Persian schools of thought, could satisfy his spiritual yearnings which were aspiring for something newer and at the same time deeper. Neither the physical mortification, mental exclusiveness and subtle philosophy of the Hindu saint, nor the severe austerity, formal practices and mystic teachings of a Muslim ascetic, could inspire him with the realisation of his new ideals. So he left both of them and found a third saint after his heart in the person of *Shaykh* Bhikā Chishtī of Chishtī order. From this Muslim saint he obtained the ever-covetted spiritual successorship (*Khirqah-i-Khilāfat*) and within a short time founded a new order of saints, where he admitted not only the Muslims but also many Hindus without being formally converted to Islām. His order is, as usual,

1. *Kabirs' Poems* by Tagore.

2. *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court* by Md. Abdul Ghani, part I, pp. 121-7; *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India* by J. N. Farquhar, pp. 334-36; *Kabir's Poems* Introduction.

3. *Bharatiya Madhya Yuge Sādhanaṁ Dhārā*, Cal. Uni., p. 63.

known after his own name : It is called Kabirpanthis.<sup>1</sup> Whatever might have been the case, the two different sets of mystics—Hindus and Muslims, with whom Kabir came in close contact, infused in him two separate nature of mystic yearnings which in course of time amalgamated into one.<sup>2</sup>

Kabir was but an influence, felt everywhere in India. During his life-time he was a great popular leader of thought, and even after his death, his influence did not wane. His message of indifference towards the world and of latitudinarianism, worked in the minds of the masses and from among them, Kabir as an there flourished men like Nanak (1469-1539) Dadu, influence Chaitanya (1484-1533) and many others of minor importance, who preached the message of Kabir in one form or other. What a tremendous influence Kabir exerted on the popular mind is now difficult to ascertain, but the message Kabir gave to the people of India, vibrated through many succeeding generations and centuries. This is why, the saints of Northern India used to say :-

ভক্তি দ্রাবিড় উপজী, লারে রামানন্দ ।

প্রগট কিয়ো কবীরনে সপ্তদ্বীপ নৌখণ্ড ॥

Bhakti Drāviḍa upajī, laye Rāmānand;

Pragaṭa Kiyo Kabirne saptadvīpa naukhaṇḍ."

Bhakti originated in the Dravidian country and Rāmānanda brought it here ;

Kabir preached it in the seven islands and

nine countries.(i.e. world).

The fusion of Indian and Islamic thought, beginning from the rise of Kabir, was going on from centuries together. It is

1. Note here the Indian word "Panthi" meaning "one belonging to path". Hence, the term "Kabirpanthi" means one who belongs to the path (i.e. order) introduced by Kabir". Kabir was the first Indian Sūfī who employed the Indian word in the name of his own order.
2. *Tadhkirah*, part II., pp. 82-83 ; *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, part, I, pp. 121-127.



still working and working on in the minds of the people of India and we cannot say when it will be completed. But so far as we see, it reached its zenith during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era. These two centuries witnessed the rise of a number of liberal men amongst the Hindus as well as Muslims, who tried their level best to complete the fusion. But they were only partially successful in the realisation of their great dream—the dream of formation of a compact Indian Nation, where no question of community, race, colour or religion would rise. Among the Hindus of India, we have mentioned above a few celebrated names who took up this cause as a sacred duty of their lives. Among the Muslims, the revered Akbar and names of Akbar (1556-1605) and that of his great Dara Shikūh's grandson Dārā Shikūh (d. 1659) are very conspicuous. How far these two prophets of Hindu-fusion, Muslim fusion—a fusion in blood, thought, ideas and culture,—fared in the realisation of their ideal, we need not discuss here. The attitude, they maintained, is the only thing that is to be noted here. Their attitude was not that of a Hindu or of a Muslim. It was an attitude that might be attributed to the product of the two. "*Tawḥīd-i-Ilāhī*" or Divine monotheism of Akbar might have many short comings as an independent religion, or it might have been a heretical doctrine as many of the learned '*Ulamā*' or doctors of Islām thought it to be so, but when we go to pass any remark on this creed, we, unfortunately do not look into the intention of the men who professed to be its founder, or to those who conceived this idea or nursed it at least for a few years. Akbar's pose as a founder of new religion, and his friends Abū 'l-Faḍl and Fayḍī's mental attitude were not for any temporal power of which they had enough. What they wanted was the realisation of a great dream of universality. The method of propagating their liberal ideas under the garb of religion, was perhaps an ill-conceived and hence a wrong one,—at least wrong in those days of middle ages. Had they adopted any other suitable method, they might have fared better. With all their shortcomings and defects, their intention was good and

honest and their ideal was, though untimely, yet an excellent one.

What Dārā Shikūh did for the realisation of this great ideal? He applied himself heart and soul to the realisation of his life-long dream of Hindu-Muslim fusion. He was a great prince having the bright prospect of succeeding to the Mughal throne; but political supremacy over the country or the prospects of temporal power and glory, could not detract him from the path, he had been following with all his earnestness. He did not try to conquer a people with physical force like his ambitious and orthodox brother Aurangzīb; instead he worked hard for the cultural conquest of the people. This idea induced him to give up all his attempts at the attainment of temporal power and to devote himself to the study of Hindu and Muslim religious books. He translated some fifty Upanishads into Persian and wrote many original Persian works on Sūfiism or *Taṣawwuf*. (*Majma'-introduction*) However, he paid very dearly for his liberal views: he was executed by his brother Aurangzīb in the year 1659 A.D. on a flimsy pretext of hatching up a plot against the state.

**Period of Reformation** (1550 A. D. downward) :-

What was the result of the fusion of Indian and Islāmic thought? As to the nature of this fusion, we do not like to pass any remarks. It may either be good or bad according to the taste of him who studies it sympathetically or unsympathetically and who judges it from this or that point of view. What we

The cause of reform.	like to note here is the result. The result, it achieved, is undeniably, in the words of Dārā Shikūh " <i>Majma'-ul-Bahrayn</i> " or "The Mingling of
-------------------------	---

the Two Seas". In the realm of thought, indeed the two seas mingled and consequently a mixture of the two seas' water was produced, out of which a spirit of mutual toleration grew up. Had it not been the case, Abu'l-Faḍl could not write :-

"Praise be to God that all men agreed in this, that there is no creed that may not in some one particular be error, nor yet any such that is entirely false, and therefore, that if any one, according to his conviction, speaks favourably regarding a

doctrine, which seems at variance with his own faith, his motives should not be misunderstood, nor should people rise to decry him."<sup>1</sup>

A revolution in the realm of thought and a spirit of mutual toleration resulted soon in the imitation of each one's religious and social practices, thoughts and beliefs. In every department of life, a sort of newness appeared, which a section of Hindus and Muslims did not like. The dissatisfied sections of the two communities thought that every innovation in religion was bad. So, in order to ward these things off from the society, people bestirred themselves. Soon, regular reformatory movements were launched from both the sides. As we are not directly concerned with the reformation of the Hindus, we need not discuss it here.

In the later part of the sixteenth century, signs of reformation among the Muslims were visible. The idea that the Muslims of India were, day by day, degrading themselves by being Hinduised, was entertained by a section of the Muslims who apprehended a great danger for their brethren, of being slowly merged among the Hindu population. This idea was rapidly developing with the march of time ; it was enhanced by the liberal movement of Akbar and his learned followers. But there was none among the reactionaries so bold as to voice their feeling and shape their idea in words and deeds. At last in the person of Shaykh Ahmad of Sirhind, the earnestly wished-for opportunity came.

Birth of His full name was Imām Rabbānī Maḥbūb-i-  
Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Subḥānī Shaykh Ahmad Fāruqī. He is generally  
Thānī and known by his title Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī or the  
his reforms. Reformer of the Second Millenium of the Hijera.  
This title is based on the foundation of a popular  
belief among the Muslims. It is said that there is a tradition  
to the import that at the end of every millenium of Hijera,  
there will appear a reformer in the Muslim world, whose duty is  
to eradicate all sorts of false beliefs, wicked practices, various  
superstitions and the similar accretions that a religion may

1. *Ain*. Vol. III., p. 429.

acquire by virtue of its progress and expansion. Shaykh Ahmad of Sirhind claimed to be that reformer in the second millenium of Hijera. He was born in Sirhind in the year 1563 A. D., and educated there in his early days. In course of time he became an erudite scholar, possessed esoteric and exoteric knowledge in Islāmic lore, such as theology, science, philosophy and mysticism, and thereby played the part of a Doctor of Islām (*Imām*) enforcing his discretionary power on the masses in matters that concerned *Sharī'at* or Islāmic canonical law. There is no doubt that there was not a single learned scholar like him in India in the sixteenth century A.D. His erudite work, "*Maktūbāt*" or "Epistles" collected after his death by his followers, is the most shining example of his profound learning in one hand and of incessant propaganda work for reform on the other.

From the very beginning of his career, Shaykh Ahmad assumed a reformatory attitude and his reformation was surely of a sweeping and drastic nature, which the people of other schools of thought could not bear the brunt of. The Nature of his field covered by his reformation was a fairly wide reformation. one. He not only directed his mighty pen and tongue against the alleged Hinduised beliefs and practices, prevalent among the Muslims of India, but also applied much of his energy to the reformation of the different Şufī orders and diverse Muslim sects, such as *Shī'ahs* and *Rāfidīs*. Hindus too could not escape him. His "*Maktūbāt*" or "Epistles" contains a few letters addressed to prominent Hindus of different localities. These letters clearly show, how Mujaddid-i-Alf-*Thānī* tried to expound the falsity of the Hindu belief in gods and goddesses and the futility of subtle explanations that are generally given by the Hindus in support of their beliefs. He offered the message of unmixed monotheism to the Hindus and preached, explained and unfolded to them the beauty and teachings of Islām.

His pose of a Şufī-reformer, is interesting to know.<sup>1</sup> *Tadhkirat-i-Auliya-i-Hind* gives it in the following figurative way :-

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Auliya-i-Hind* part III, p. 95.

"It is narrated that, one day Shaykh Aḥmad, while sitting in a mosque, was surrounded by a group of followers and attentive to the act of imparting them instructions. At this time, Shāh Sikandar of Kithāl came and offered Shaykh Aḥmad the cloak of Qādirī order ( *Khirqah-i-Khilāfat*, when offered, it means spiritual successorship ). On this he ( i. e. Shaykh Aḥmad ) thought about his initiation into the Naqshbandī order. While he was thinking thus, he saw all of a sudden that there came 'Abdu'l-Qādir of Jilān ( 1078-1166 ) Khwājah Bahāu-'d-Dīn Naqshband ( d. 1389 ), Khwājah 'Abdu'l-Bāqi, Khwājah Mu'nu-'d-Dīn Chishtī ( 1142-1236 ), Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn Suhrawardī ( 1147-1234 ), Shaykh Najmu-'d-Dīn Kubrā and Badī'u-'d-Dīn Shāh-i-Madār ( 1115-1436 ) and they all made him their spiritual successor". This narration which appears to be a statement of reverie, simply means that Shaykh Aḥmad not only claimed to be a reformer in the religious and social field, but also in the field of theosophy or *Taṣawwuf* as it was then prevalent in India. He chiefly belonged to the Naqshbandī school of mystic thought, but he reformed all schools including his own. Everyone going through his "*Maktūbāt*" or 'Epistles' can easily imagine, how he grappled with the situation.

However, as a result of his writing treatises on the falsity of Rāfiḍī and Shī'ah creeds, a class of Muslims, particularly these two sects, grew infuriated with him. Shī'ahs had a very strong hold on the Mughal emperor Jahāngir through his favourite consort Nūr Jahān who was a Shī'ah. They instigated the Empress to take a drastic and immediate step against the rising heretic Shaykh Aḥmad. His imprisonment by Jahāngir. The Emperor, under the instigation and influence of his royal consort, soon arrested the reformer and passed orders to throw him to prison for an indefinite period of time. But Shaykh Aḥmad neither changed his opinion, nor abandoned his convictions. He was even not inactive behind the prison bars where he preached the message of reform to all and sundry who came in contact with him. As a result of his

preaching, the prison-house soon changed into a reformatory platform and he succeeded in winning over a large number of prisoners to his side.

After the imprisonment of Shaykh Aḥmad, many changes took place within a short period of two years, at the end of which, Shaykh 'Abdu-'l-Haqq Maḥaddith of Delhi (d. 1641) succeeded in convincing the Emperor of the puritanic spirit of Shaykh Aḥmad and of the good and beneficial result of his reform. On this, the Emperor gladly released Shaykh Release. Aḥmad from his prison, showed respect and honour to him and allowed the prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) to be initiated by him. After his release, Shaykh Aḥmad worked very vigorously as there was no authority—religious or royal,—to oppose him.<sup>1</sup>

The activities of this celebrated savant, reformer and saint were felt far and wide. Many people from different parts of India were converted to Islām by him and accepted him as a "Mujaddid" or reformer. Mawlānā Shaykh Ḥamīd His Bengali Dānishmand Bangālī of Mangalkot, Burdwan, was his disciple. deputy who worked for his master in Bengal. The wellknown book *Maktūbāt* of Shaykh Aḥmad contains a few letters addressed to his Bengali disciple and savant.

Shaykh Aḥmad died in the year 1624 A. D. On his death, the Indian Muslims lost a great reformer indeed. His tomb is in His death Sirhind where thousands of pilgrims from different 1624 A.D. parts of Northern India, assemble every year.

The movement started by Shaykh Aḥmad, was of mainly Sunni character in the sense that it tended more to Sunni creed than others. Imām Abū Ḥanīfah ( 699 A.D — 767 A.D. ) one of the founders of the Sunni sect among the Muslims, was the first religious doctor who introduced reasoning in Islām. He saw

1. *Tadhkirah*, part III. pp. 94-99 ; *Maktūbāt* of Aīf-i-Thānī.

that those problems, which had a pure local and occasional origin could not be solved according to the canons of existing creed in Islām, save the employment of a good and sound reasoning. With a view to purify the Muslims of India, Shaykh Aḥmad adopted in many cases, this method of Abū Ḥanīfah and employed his reasoning to the solutions of problems of Indian origin. As the general consensus of Muslim public is that none but a Mujaddid or reformer can do such things, Shaykh Aḥmad claimed to have that necessary qualification. Except many other similarities existing between the Sunni creed and the reformatory creed of Shaykh Aḥmad, the two erudite doctors of Islām, Abū Ḥanīfah and Shaykh Aḥmad, met with each other on the same ground of employing reasoning in the field of religion.

The two other men who carried on the reform of Shaykh Aḥmad were Mawlānā Shaykh ‘Abdu-’l-Ḥaqq of Delhi (d. 1641 A. D. ) and the Sunni Mughal emperor Aurangzīb. Mawlānā ‘Abdu-’l-Ḥaqq was a great doctor of tradition (*Maḥaddith*) and a famous authority on the Quranic commentary (*Mufasssīr*). He wrote volumes in Persian and Arabic which testify to his profound erudition in many branches of Islāmic lore. His treatises on *Taṣawwuf* speak of his thorough mastery over this department of Islāmic theosophy. At first this learned man could not agree in many points with Shaykh Aḥmad. He argued against many principles, now embodied in the “Epistles”. But after all Shaykh Aḥmad convinced this doctor of the infallibility of those controversial principles on which ‘Abdu-’l-Ḥaqq raised questions of dissent. Since ‘Abdu-’l-Ḥaqq was won over to the side of Shaykh Aḥmad, he became one of his (Aḥmad’s) strong supporters ; and we have already mentioned how this man was instrumental to the release of Shaykh Aḥmad from the prison.<sup>1</sup>

A regular campaign was directed by Aurangzīb against the alleged heresy among the Muslims. The result of this campaign

1. *Tadhkirah*, part III., pp. 49-50.

led to the compilation of the great Indian Ḥanafī law book, "*Fatwā-i-Ālamgīrī*" or the Legal Decisions of 'Ālamgīr. Emperor Aurangzib was an orthodox Sunni Muslim and he employed a good number of Ḥanafī doctors to compile a law book of simply puritanic character, basing on which, he intended to enforce Muḥammadan law among the Muslims of India. The doctors of Aurangzib worked hard for many years in collecting materials embodying them in the forementioned book, *Fatwā-i-Ālamgīrī* and reform. under different heads, with decisions now based on analogy, now on discretion, now on sound decisions, now on careless whims and often on the taste of a particular group of mediaval doctors of religious law, who generally possessed narrow ideas, small outlook and limited freedom of thought. When we go through the pages of "*Fatwā-i-Ālamgīrī*", we wonder to see often the tremendous struggle of the doctors of Aurangzib for drawing far-fetched analogies, and for employing unsound discretions. As if, these learned mediaeval doctors formed an opinion on some particular problem, before they had thoroughly examined the existing facts with an unbiased mind and then they tried to prove their opinion already formed. However, this book is a monumental work in the sense that it is the best orthodox Indian Muḥammadan production on orthodox Indian Islām. During six hundred years of Muslim rule in India, only one book was written on a comprehensive basis and that is "*Fatwā-i-Ālamgīrī*" which could guide the Indian Muslims in all religious matters. As Islām in India had to live in a regular non-Islamic environment for centuries together, it had naturally to face many new problems of pure local and circumstantial origin. Many of such problems were sought to be solved by the scholars of Aurangzib and the results have been put down in this memorable book.

Aurangzib's criterion of reformation were based on his "Legal Decisions". When the book was compiled, the Emperor enforced his decisions on all Muslims of India, who belonged to Sunnī School of Islāmic principles. His reforms may be characterised as the reforms by force, while those of



his predecessors Shaykh Aḥmad and 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq were the reformations by persuasion. The former worked in India because of the imperial power to drive them on, while the latter proved more successful because of the brain to work behind them. The imperial power became intolerable in certain cases :  
 Nature of      Dārā Shikūh, the learned brother of Aurangzib  
 Aurangzib's      and the most liberal man of the time, had to sacrifice  
 reformation      his precious life on the alter of force only because  
                          of his idealistic dream of fusion of Hinduism with  
 Islām. The great Suhrawardī Saint Sarmad was beheaded in  
 1659 A. D., by Aurangzib, for his alleged heresy. After his  
 execution, he was buried beside the Cathedral Mosque in Delhi.  
 He is generally known as the inhabitant of Armenia or Kāshān.<sup>1</sup>  
 It is said that, he came to India as a trader and settled at  
 Thaṭṭa where he fell in love with a beautiful Hindu lad. This  
 sensual love ('*ishq-i-mifāzī*') is said to have led him to the love  
 divine ('*ishq-i-ḥaqīqī*') which ultimately gave him a fore-most  
 rank amongst the darvishes of India.<sup>2</sup> Sarmad was probably  
 not an Armenian; he seems to have been an Indian. The  
 following 'rubā'ī' or quatrain of Sarmad speaks of his early  
 allegiance to Hinduism :-

سرمد بجهان بسے نگو نام شدی  
 از مذهب کفر سوے اسلام شدی +  
 آخر چه خطا دیدی از الله و رسول  
 برگشته مرید لچمن و رام شدی +

"O Sarmad, thou hast acquired much fame in this world :  
 From the creed of infidelity, thou hast passed over to Islām.  
 At last what fault didst thou find, of Allah and his  
 Apostle after turning away from being a disciple of Lachman  
 and Rām?"

However, on the death of Aurangzib, the force of his reformation was quickly abated and in course of a few years, it died a natural death. But, reformation of the orthodox scholars was going on by their lieutenants. It did not cease for ever.

1. Kāshān is a city situated midway between Tehrān and Isfahan.

2. *Tadhkirah* p. III, p. 175.

## CHAPTER II

### A brief account of the Ṣūfī orders and their branches having a connection with India

We have already observed that from the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., Ṣūfīs were coming to India. The scattered account of the Ṣūfīs of early period, does not furnish us with the information of the orders to which they belonged. Certainly they belonged to some or other of the orders that were then existing in the Muslim world. But unfortunately we do not know, what were those early Ṣūfī orders that came to India with the advent of the early Ṣūfīs.

Growth of orders among the Ṣūfīs was not of recent origin; it is as old as the origin of Ṣūfī theosophy in the Muslim world. As to the origin of Ṣūfī orders Dr. Margoliouth observes :- "The growth of orders is an obscure subject, and nothing is more remarkable in Islāmic history than the speed with which these systems have been propagated. It must be remembered that eastern people are highly impressionable to systematic devotion of any sort : and it is probable that the institution of pilgrimage which gathers together crowds of Muslims with their religious emotions kindled to fanaticism facilitates such propaganda to an extraordinary degree."<sup>1</sup> Before passing such an unwarrantable remark on the origin of a great thought movement like Ṣūfīism, one should consider the fact that the various forms of devotion, which are still prevalent in Islām, are remarkably systematic and are conspicuously unitary ; and yet there is a good deal of diverse views about this. Let us try to find out the reason for this diversity.

1. *Muhammedanism*—D. S. Margoliouth, p. 213.

Şufi theosophy had in its origin great tendency to individualism. In its inception, it was neither meant for the ordinary common folk, nor for any coterie of intellectuals. Origin of Şufi Illumination of the individual soul by the culture orders accounted of one's own self was the aim and object of the early Şufis. Great Şufis of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. achieved this illumination by individual exertion, mortification and austerity. This individualistic tendency among Şufis, led each individual to the way of thinking out a theosophic system according to his own mentality and intellectual attainments. Hence, each system of Şufi theosophy bears a clear stamp of an individual who shaped it and worked it out in the line, invented or discovered by him. In this way, when one system took final shape and when following that definite system, any individual attained the ideal as desired by him, others with similar tendencies accepted the path laid down by him. This was a kind of servile imitation; yet it was helpful to many. In any case, the disciples clung round the master and formed a group to be named after the master or founder. As it is a case with all groups or sects, after the formation of a well-defined order, many new formalities and rituals were, in course of time, introduced. The beginning of Şufi orders is thus as old as the origin of Şufism itself.

The earliest of the orders of which we hear from the Şufis is the Basrī order, founded by Ḥasan of Baṣrah (d. 728 A.D.). The next one was perhaps the Adhamī, founded by Ibrāhīm-ibn-Adham (d. 777 A.D.). Whatever might have been the history, the rapidity with which these Şufi orders were increasing is remarkable. Dr. Margoliouth seems to be in the Rapid growth of right in assigning the cause of rapid growth of Şufi Orders. the Şufi orders during the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era. These orders became known and their doctrines were preached and popularised among the masses of different countries through the agency of pilgrims to Mecca where the Muslims of distant countries used to assemble once a year. A deeper cause was of course the appearance of

inventive Şūfīs in early centuries of Islām. Another factor contributing largely to the augmentation of Şūfī order was the absorption of Aryan civilisation of Persia and of Greece by Islām. Austerity and an overwhelming sense of Divine Presence in Arabian Islām mingled with the speculative and philosophical bent of Aryan mind, produced the result of these new experiments in the field of religion and mystic rites and ceremonies.

However, long before the advent of Şūfīs to India, they belonged to many schools of Şūfī thought. Every school was recognised as *Khāndān* or family or order. Many such orders were probably introduced into and subsequently established in India, some of which became extinct for want of support of the Indians. The history of the introduction of these orders is as obscure as their creeds. The history of Şūfī orders introduced into India only contain the account of a few of these Şūfīs and their particular theosophy. We have sought in the preceding chapter to indicate the names of those Şūfī orders about which we are sure of their having come to India.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* furnishes us with a list of Şūfī orders that had been prominent in India up to the time of Akbar, the Great (1565-1605). We give below the names of those orders chronologically with names of their founders and dates of their deaths :-

1. Ḥabībī—*Khawājah Ḥabīb Ajmī*—Contemporary with Ḥasan Baṣrī (d. 728 A.D.)
2. Zaydī—*Shaykh 'Abdu'-l-Wāḥid bin Zayd* ... (d. 743 A.D.)
3. Adhamī—*Khawājah Ibrāhīm bin Adham Balkhī* ... (d. 777 A.D.)
4. Ayyūdī—*Khawājah Fuḍayl bin Ayyūd* ... (d. 803 A.D.)
5. KarKhī—*M'arūf Karkhī* ... (d. 815 A.D.)
6. Saqāī—*Ḥasan Sarī Saqāī* ... (d. 865 A.D.)
7. Tayfurī—*Ḥasan Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī Tayfur Shāmī* (d. 874 A.D.)
8. Hubayrī—*Khawājah Hubayratu-'l-Baṣrī* ... (d. 900 A.D.)

9. Junaydī—Junayd Baghdādī ... .. (d. 910 A.D.)
10. Chishtī—Abū Ishāq Chishtī ... .. (d. 965 A.D.)
11. Kazrūnī—Abū Ishāq Kazirūnī ... .. (d. 1034 A.D.)
12. Suhrawardī—Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn Abū  
Nazīb Suhrawardī ... (d. 1167 A.D.)
13. Firdawsī—Shaykh Najmu-'d-Dīn Kubrā Firdawsī (d. 1221 A.D.)
14. Tūsī—Alāu-'d-Dīn Tūsī—Contemporary with  
Najmu-'d-Dīn Kubrā.

The above list of fourteen orders, given by Abū-'l-Faḍl is not complete in itself; he had admitted the inadequacy of his list.<sup>1</sup> He only furnishes us with a list of those orders that were prominent in India up to the end of the sixteenth century A. D. Besides these, we know that the following orders became prominent afterwards:—

15. Shattārī—Shattār ... .. Probable date 1200-1300 A.D.
16. Qādirī—'Abdu'l-Qādir of Jīlān ... .. 1078-1166 A.D.
17. Qalandarī—Qalandar Yūsuf al-Andalusī ... Not known.
18. Naqshbandī—Bahā 'u-'Dīn Naqshband ... .. (d. 1389 A.D.)
19. Uwaysī—Uways Qarani—Contemporary with Haḍrat Muḥammad.

The Indian Ṣufīs recognize only the fourteen orders of Abū-'l-Faḍl. The other five, (from 15 to 19), they admit in a peculiar way. They are not inclined to acknowledge separate existence of the other five, but they include them in the list of fourteen orders in a most arbitrary manner,

What exactly are the views of Indian Ṣufīs about these orders? They are of unanimous opinion that *Khirqah-i-darwishī* or the cloak of sainthood was bestowed on the Prophet in the night of *M'irāj* or ascension to heaven. After his return from heaven, he assembled his companions in the morning and according to the wish of God, entrusted Haḍrat 'Alī, amongst others, with the secret of divine gnosis (*'Ilm-i-m'arifah*). In order to single him out as his nominee, the Prophet conferred a black woolen cloak on 'Alī. This cloak is traditionally known as "*Khirqah-i-Khilāfat*", or the cloak of spiritual succession,—because

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. III, trans. H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1894, p. 257.

of the fact that whenever a saint chooses one as his nominee to succeed him in his life-time or on his death, he plays the part of the Prophet by the offering of a patchwork garment to his future successor. How-  
Origin of the fourteen orders as stated by the Indian Sufis. ever, 'Alī was chosen by the Prophet as the future inheritor of his divine gnosis. It is said that 'Alī initiated seventy persons to his mystic creed during his life-time and chose four men to succeed him. Amongst these four persons, the first two were his two sons of Karbalā fame Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, while the third and the fourth were respectively Khawājah Kāmil bin Ziyād and Khawājah Ḥasan of Baṣrah. Fourteen orders, mentioned above and generally known in India as the *Chowdah Khwānwādah*, trace their spiritual descent from Ḥasan of Baṣrah who had two great spiritual successors named Khawājah Ḥabīb 'Ajmī and 'Abdu-'l-Wāḥid-bin Zayd. Out of these two great spiritual successors of Ḥasan of Baṣrah, Ḥabīb of 'Ajam was at the spiritual head of the following nine orders :- (1) Ḥabībī (2) Ṭayfurī (3) Karkhī (4) Saqaṭī (5) Junaydī (6) Kazrūnī (7) Ṭūsī (8) Firdausī (9) Suhrawardī and 'Abdu-'l-Wāḥid bin Zayd was at the spiritual helm of the following five orders, viz. (1.) 'Ayḡdī (3) Adhamī (4) Ḥubayrī (5) Chishtī.<sup>1</sup>

As to the name of these orders, most of them are either known after the proper names of their founders or after their titles signifying the places they lived in. Only a few orders received their names from the causes other than these two and we are concerned with only one of them such as Naqshbandī. This order was founded by Bahā'u-d-Dīn (d. 1398 A.D.) who was a painter (*Naqshband*). The incident which led to the acquisition of this name to this order is thus described in the books of Indian Sufis :—One day, Amīr Kalāl, the spiritual guide of Khawājah Bahā'u-d-Dīn, ordered his disciple (i. e. Bahā'u-d-Dīn) that he should paint the name of "Allah" in all pots which were in his possession. Bahā'u-d-Dīn carried out the order of his spiritual guide, but by chance many of his pots were left

Naqshbandī  
order and the  
legend behind  
this name.

1. *Tadhkirat-i-Auliya-i-Hind*, part I, pp. 1-3.

unnoticed and hence unpainted. A tell-tale came to know of this and accused him before Amīr Kalāl that he was disobedient. Amīr at once sent for Bahā'u-'d-Dīn and when he came, he was asked to give an explanation about this delinquency. Bahā'u-'d-Dīn replied to his master that he had carried out his order to the letter. Amīr could not believe his disciple and he asked him to show all the pots that were with him for the purpose. Bahā'u-'d-Dīn exhibited all of the pots one by one and Amīr was much satisfied to see that all pots were painted with equal care and attention. When the exhibition was finished, Amīr gladly addressed his disciple as "*Ay Naqshband*" or "O Painter". The mischief monger witnessed this miracle, and became ashamed of his conduct. Henceforward, Bahā'u-'d-Dīn was called "the Naqshband" or the Painter and the order, he founded, was given the name of Naqshbandī.

We have already said that the history, concerning India, of many of the orders, mentioned above, is very obscure. No Sūfī treatises furnish us with a clue to unfolding the dark pages of the history of Sūfism in India. The list of List of a few existing orders and to the end of the sixteenth century A.D., these orders those who first were very prominent in India. But unfortunately introduced them Abū'l Faḍl either failed or did not care to inform to India. us about the men who first introduced these schools of Sūfī theosophy to India. Apart from the question of *Aīn*, other Sūfī treatises too failed to note this important fact. Books on critical study of Sūfī theosophy are of comparatively recent origin in India and none can hope to get any adequate help from them at least in their historical study. However, we give below the names of a few orders and the first Sūfīs who introduced them to India.

Orders	Names of those who first introduced them.	Probable date of introduction.
1. <u>Chishtī</u> —	<u>Khawājah Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī</u>	(d. 1236).. 1193 A.D.

2. Suhrawardī—(a) Jalālu-'d-Dīn Tabrizī (d. 1225) ... Before  
1200 A.D.  
(b) Qāḍī Hamīdu-'d-Dīn Nāgūrī (d. 1266)...About  
1200 A.D.  
(c) Bahā'u-'d-Dīn Dhakriya Multānī (d. 1246)  
Between 1193 & 1200 A.D.
3. Junaydī—(a) Dātā Ganj Bakhsh Lāhorī (d. 1072 A.D.),...Before  
1072 A.D.  
(b) Bābā Ishāq Maghribī (d. before 1400) Between  
1324 and 1351 A.D.
4. Shattārī—'Abdullāh Shattārī (d. 1406) ... Before 1400 A.D.
5. Qādirī—(a) 'Abdu'l-Karīm al-Jilī (d. between 1406 and 1417)  
1388 A.D.  
(b) Sayyid Ni'āmatullah (d. 1430 A.D.) ... Before  
1400 A.D.  
(c) Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth al-Jilī (d. 1517)  
1482 A.D.
6. Uwaysī—Bad'īu-'d-Dīn Shāh-i-Madār (d. 1436) ... About  
1400 A.D.
7. Naqshbandī—Khwājah Bāqī Billāh (d. 1603) ... Before  
1600 A.D.

All the above seven orders carry no equal importance to the Muslims of India. Amongst these seven, as has been said before, only three orders viz., Chishtī, Suhrawardī, and Qādirī had been and are still the most prominent orders in this country. Only of late, say from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the seventh order i. e. Naqshbandī, has risen to prominence. Chishtī and Suhrawardī orders produced many famous Ṣūfīs, through the personal exertion of whom, Ṣūfīism had been established in India on a firm footing. During the period of reformation Qādirī order had a favourable time for its self-expansion among the Indians who regarded and still regard it as the most puritanic of all Ṣūfī orders existing in India. Almost sentimental regard and respect



for the alleged puritanic character of the Qādirī order, had been best echoed by Mawlānā 'Abdu'l Haq Mahaddith of Delhi (d. 1641 A. D.) in the few following lines, composed in honour of 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Jilī, the founder of this order :-

“Ghawth-i-A'azam is a proof of the road to Islām ;

He is a sure guide to the leaders of faith.

Amongst all the saints he is a royal falcon,

Just as a Messenger of God is exalted among the prophets.

Saints are his servants with heart and soul ;

His feet rest on their shoulders.” (xx)

Such an excessive regard for the founder of the Qādirī order might have led the Indian Muslims to take it to be puritanic in character ; otherwise we see very little difference between the Indian creeds of the Qādirī and the other orders. The creeds of Qādirī order that were introduced into India in the last part of the fourteenth century A. D., were perhaps substantially different from the pristine Qādirī teachings ; otherwise Indian Qādirī creed should have been widely different from other Indian Sūfī creeds.

As Sūfism in India spread and the Sūfīs recruited adherents of Indian blood, they and their theosophy no doubt lost original purity. In its subjective and speculative side, Sūfism received and assimilated many Indian philosophical thoughts which we shall attempt in due course to point out to our readers with a desire to arrive at the truth. The thing we like to note here is this that the loss of purity (i. e. of the original Quranic Islām) in the region of thought soon brought in many divisions in the fold of Sūfism in India. These divisions were mostly concerning formal observances and practices. Just after the advent of Sūfism to India its practices began to change and within a century, it became widely varied from the rites and practices of

(xx) غوث اعظم دليل راه يقين + يقين رهبر اکابر دين  
اوست در جمله اولياء شهباز + چو پیغمبر در انبيا ممتاز  
اولياء بنده اش از دل و جان + قدم او بگردن ايشان

\*\* (Tadhkirah,, part. III. p. 5)

other Muslim countries. Before the close of the thirteenth century, we see many divisions (which we may call 'sub-orders') had already made its first appearance in the two chief orders, Chishti and Suhrawardi. These 'sub-orders' do not differ much in principle from the parent orders, but they disagree with them in respect of many practices and observances. In this connection, Abū'l Faḍl has rightly observed, "Any chosen soul who in the mortification of the deceitful spirit and in the worship of God, introduced some new motive of conduct and whose spiritual sons in succession continued to keep alight the lamp of doctrine, was acknowledged as the founder of a new line".<sup>1</sup> Owing to this reason, many sub-orders sprang up in every order within a few centuries. In many cases, it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of these sub-orders and it is more difficult to gather the life-history of those chosen souls who first struck out new paths for themselves.

It is said that the famous Chishti order of India was split up into fourteen divisions; among them the following six are the principal sub-orders, of which we know something :-

( i ) Kirmāniyah :- Among the disciples of Khwājah Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī ( 1142-1236 ) the first to differ from him, was 'Abdullah Kirmānī of Birbhum, Bengal. The new sub-order, he founded, had a great hold on, and a large following in Rājha or western Bengal, and in the modern province of Bihar and Orissa. We shall again elaborately discuss about this sub-order in the proper place.

(ii) Karīmīyah :- The next to revolt against his master was Pīr Karīm Sīlūnī. He died in the year 1264 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

(iii) Ṣābirīyah :- The third one to revolt, was 'Alī Aḥmad Ṣābir of Kalīr, ( 1196-1291 ). He was a great Chishtī saint famous all over India.<sup>3</sup> This sub-order was named after the title of its founder and how its founder acquired this title of Ṣābir or the Patient, is an interesting story to tell. It is said

1. *Ain*, Vol. III. p. 357.

2. Mirza Md. Akhtar Dihlaw—*Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind* ( Urdu ), pt. I p. 103.

3. *op. cit.*, pt. II. pp. 2-9.

that, "One day Baba Farrī, 'Alī Aḥmad's spiritual guide and maternal uncle, bade him give food and alms on his behalf to the poor. This he did, and, though stationed at the kitchen (*langar Khānah*) night and day, he did not quit it to take his food at his own house. As he got weaker day by day, his mother asked him the reason, and he replied that he had taken no food for several days as his leader's order bade him to distribute it to others, but did not authorise him to take any himself. Besides, as he was required to be present at the Kitchen, he could not leave it. For this he received the name of *Sābir* (the patient one)".<sup>1</sup>

(iv) *Nizāmiyah* :- Sulṭānu-'l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-'d-Dīn Awliya, the renowned *Chishtī* saint of Delhi was the founder of this sub-order. He was born at Badāyūn in the year 1236, the memorable date of Khwājah Mu'in-'d-Dīn *Chishtī*'s death and died in Delhi in 1325 A.D.<sup>2</sup> This famous saint of Delhi is largely responsible for the regular propagation of *Chishtī* creed in Bengal. His is one of the most popular sub-orders of India. His exquisite shrine in Delhi still attracts a large number of pilgrims every year.

(v) *Husāmīyah* :- Husāmu-'d-Dīn of Mānikpūr (Karā) founded this sub-order in Bihar. He was a disciple of the famous Bengali saint Nūru-'d-Dīn Quṭb-i-'Alam (d. 1416). His sub-order once had a strong hold on Bihar and northern Bengal. His teachings had been embodied in the book known as "*Rafīqu-'l-Ārifīn*" or "the Friend of the Gnostics", after his death in the year 1477 A.D., by his devoted followers.<sup>3</sup>

(iv) *Qalandariyah* :- This order is regarded by the general consensus of Indian darvishes, as one of the important sub-orders of *Chishtī* orders. Though the first Indian Qalandar Sharafu-'d-Dīn Bu 'Alī Shāh had an ordinary connection with the *Chishtī* saints of India, we see no reason to include this famous independent order to the sub-orders of Indian *Chishtīs*. Almost

1. *Indian Islam*, M. T. Titus (Oxf. Uni. Press, 1930), p. 122.

2. For his life, vide *Firīstah*; *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind*, pt. I, pp. 87-103.

3. *Tadhkirah*, pt. II, pp. 36-37.

all of the famous saints of India owed their ordinary allegiance to the practices and beliefs of more than one order. Is the Qalanda- Bu 'Ali Shāh's connection with the Chishtī order does riyah order a not warrant it to be more intimate than what was sub-order of normal. In such a case, we are not inclined to regard Chishtī order? it as a sub-order of the Chishtīs. It was quite an independent order, introduced afresh into India, by Bū 'Ali Shāh in the later part of the thirteenth century A.D. But, in spite of all our disinclination to treat it as one of the sub-orders of the Chishtī order, we are recording its account here, since a good section of the Indian Šufīs have considered it to be so.

Dr. M. T. Titus writes the following about this Qalandari order, "The order was introduced into India by its founder, 'Ali Abu Yusuf Qalandar, known as Bu 'Ali Qalandar, who was a native of Spain. After having been connected with the Baktashī and Chishtī order, he finally left them both, and organized an order of his own. In his travels he ultimately came to India, and settled down at Panipat, near Delhi, where he died in A. D. 1323. The tomb of Bu 'Ali Qalandar is the chief shrine of the order, and is generally venerated by his followers".<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately we have not yet found the original sources for the above account. According to *Ain*<sup>2</sup> the name of the saint of Panipat was Shaykh Sharaf and his patronymic was Abū 'Alī Qalandar. According to *Tadhkirah* ( part I. pp. 120-123 ) and many other Šufī treatises his name was Shaykh Sharafu'd-Dīn Bū 'Alī Shāh Qalandar. As regards his name, there is no difference between *Ain* and other hagiologies and the *Tadhkirah*. We do not know, how can he be identified with 'Ali Abu Yusuf of Spain. Sharafu'd-Dīn Bū 'Alī Shāh Qalandar was never a Spaniard ; he was born and brought up in India. His father was a settler in Panipat, where he was born.<sup>3</sup> It seems probable that Dr. Titus, having seen a seeming similarity between the patronymic of Sharafu'd-Dīn and

1. *Indian Islam*, p. 129.

2. *Ain*, Vol. III pp. 368-369.

3. *Tadhkirah*, p. 120.

the name of Qalandar Yūsuf al-Andalusī of Spain, the founder of the Qalandarī order,<sup>1</sup> came to the above-hasty and unwarrantable conclusion.

However, Shaykh Sharaf-d-Dīn Bu 'Alī Shāh Qalandar was a great learned man. Before he renounced the world in pursuit of higher spiritual truth, he led the life of a preacher. He used to preach Islām and Islāmic theology in the mosque of "Quwwatu-l-Islām", the great mosque built at the Quṭb by Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḡbak.<sup>2</sup> While he was in this way passing his peaceful life, suddenly his mind changed and the cause of the change, he expresses in the following way :- "Unexpectedly, I received a call from God and throwing all my learned books into the Jumna, I set out on travel. In Rūm, I fell in with Shamsu'd-Dīn Tabrizī and Mawlānā Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī (1207-1273), who presented me with a robe and turban and with many books, which in their presence, I threw into the river. Subsequently I came into Panipat and there lived as a recluse".<sup>3</sup> He died at Panipat in the year 1323-24 A.D.

Sharafu'd-Dīn Bu 'Alī Shāh Qalandar was not the founder of this order. He introduced it to and popularized it in India. The founder of this order was "Qalandar Yūsuf al-Andalusī, a native of Spain. He was for a time a member of the Bakhtāshīs; but having been dismissed from the order, he established one of his own with the obligation of perpetual travelling."<sup>4</sup> The date of this Spaniard Yūsuf is not known. He must have lived before the twelfth century A.D.; because, we hear of the existence of his famous order from Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī (1147-1234).<sup>5</sup>

Those who belong to the order of Yūsuf al-Andalusī are known as Qalandar which simply means "a monk". The Qalandars played, as we know, an important part in the eastern romances,<sup>6</sup>

1. Dictionary of Islam—T. P. Hughes (2nd ed., 1896), p. 119.

2. *Tadhkirah*, pt. I pp. 120-121.

3. *Ain*. III p. 369.

4. *Dictionary of Islam*, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

5. *Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif* (Urdu Tran.), Chap. IX. pp. 90-91.

6. *Dictionary of Islam*, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

and in the middle Bengali literature, the word generally signify Muslim mendicants of itinerant habits. "In northern India, the term '*Qalandar*' connotes one who leads about a bear or a monkey, from the dancing and tricks of which he earns a living ; or it is associated with a poor, ragged beggar, obviously a Muslim, who goes from door to door singing and asking alms'.<sup>1</sup> It is now impossible to ascertain, how the followers of BŪ 'Alī Shāh have now degenerated into ordinary beggars in northern India ; but the association of Qalandars with tamed animals was of early origin. In the monastery of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn 'Alā'u-l-Haqq of Bengal (d. 1398 A.D.) of whom we shall write in some detail later on, we meet with a few Qalandars who had a cat with them.<sup>2</sup>

The Qalandars of early time were really ascetics : their supreme aim was the achievement of purity of heart. In order to achieve this, they cared for nothing in the world ; habits they shunned, friendship they avoided, and dictates of their own heart they followed. They occasionally observed the outward practices of *Shari'at* or formal Islāmic injunctions such as prayer and fasting ; and they were not addicted to the pleasures of this world. Complete indifference to the world was the chief characteristic of this class of saints. This world was as if an illusion to them, which, they thought, can easily allure men to destruction. They gave a severe warning to the people of the world against the entanglement in the snare of this illusory world :

"Be careful of the love of the world and be careful of it ;

Suck not the blood of your heart for bread and wealth" (1)

BŪ 'Alī,

They believe that attainment of the perfection can not be had, unless a man forget this world ; the two worlds of spirit and matter are situated at two opposite poles which can never meet ; the man who tries to make in him a meeting ground of these two worlds, endeavours only in vain and runs after sheer impossibility :

(1) الخذر از حب دنیا الخذر۔ بہر نان و زر مغور خون جگر  
(Bazar Edition) مثنوی بوعلی شاہ قلندر

1. *Indian Islam*, op. cit., p. 129.

2. *Tadhkirah*, pt. I. pp. 143-144.

3. *Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif*, op. cit., p. 91.

Can ever the benefit of this world and the next be at hand?  
Do not indulge in these extravagances O selfish one!  
God and the mean world, thou desirest to obtain together;  
This is a sheer fancy, impossibility and madness" (2)

BU 'ALI.

(2) دین و دنیا هر دو کجے آید بدست + این فصولیها ممکن آئے خود پرست  
هم خدا خواهی هم دنیای دون + این خیالست و معالست و جنون  
(Bazar Edition) ملغوی بو علی شاه قلندر

It is said that the Suhrawardī order was divided into some seventeen sub-orders, most of which do not seem to exist now. However, amongst these large number of subdivisions, we know about the account of the following few orders :-

(i) Jalaliyah :- This was the most prominent and well-known sub-order of the Suhrawardī order. It was founded by Jalāl-u'-d-Dīn of Bukhārā (1307-1374 A.D.), generally known as Makhdūm Jahāniyāh Jahān Gasht Bukhārī.

(ii) Lāl Shāhbāziyah :- This sub-order was founded by Lāl Shāhbāz of Sind (d. 1323 A.D.) who was a disciple of Shaykh Bahāu'-d-Dīn Dhakriyā of Multān (d. 1267 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> His real name was Sayyad 'Uthmān Shāh. He was born in the town of Marwand in Afghānistān. 'It is said that even when very young he had developed occult powers'.<sup>2</sup> He had been in Baghdād for sometime and thence he came to India and settled in Sind. While he was coming to India, he is said to have been challenged on the way by a famous ascetic to bathe in a tub of burning oil. This is a feat which many of the old anchorites seem to have performed. 'Uthmān Shāh also successfully passed the test. Thus he earned the title of Lāl (a ruby) as the ascetic said to him, 'Thou art indeed the Lāl of Lāls (the ruby of rubies)'. This meant that 'Uthmān was the real gold having been tested by fire. He received no injury, only his robe turned crimson. He wore a red robe up to the end, and was called Lāl Shāhbāz.

1. *Tadhkirah*, pt. III, p. 142.

2. *Sind and Its Sūfis*-Jethmal Parsram Gulraj (Madras, 1924).

Shāhbāz means a falcon'.<sup>1</sup> He had a large following in Sind who are generally known as Lāl Shāhbāziyah. Lāl Shāhbāz was the precursor of Sufism in Sind. His influence on the succeeding generations of the Sufis of Sind was exceptionally great.

(iii) Sadā Sohāgan; Hadrat Shāh Musā Sadā Sohāg was the founder of this sub-order. His field of activity was Ahmadabad in Sind where he was living incognito for many years in singing songs and playing on musical instruments. He always put on the dress of a woman, and publicly played the part of a female on all occasions. So people took him to be a mad man and left him alone in neglect for a long time. It is said that once in his life time, there was a severe drought in Ahmadabad, owing to which a famine broke out in the country. At this time of their need, people were obliged to have recourse to the blessings of this unknown saint. When they requested him to pray for showers, he first of all refused to accede to their request saying that he was only a sinful and vicious woman; but afterwards he conceded to the public and agreed to pray for a heavy downpour. Then he raised his hands towards the sky and began to say, "O my dear husband! if you do not send a shower just now; I shall forthwith divulge the secret of love with you". Saying thus, he was about to break the bangles that he had been using round his two wrists for a long time. Before he did this, there came a heavy downpour. Thus he saved the country from an impending ruin and henceforward he became known to all as a wonderful saint of uncommon piety. He died at Ahmadabad in the year 1449 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

The followers of Shāh Musā styled themselves as Sadā Sohāgan; because their spiritual guide used the title Sadā Sohāg or "Ever-loving". The phrase "Sadā Sohāgan" is prevalent among the womenfolk of Northern India. It is a benedictory phrase,

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

2. *Tadhkirah*, pt. III, pp. 150-153.



used by a woman at the time of invoking prosperity and good-luck of her mate, meaning thereby, "may your husband live for ever". Because of the predominance of feminine practices, styles and dresses, among the followers of Shāh Mūsā, they use this feminine phrase as their title. We have seen, how Shāh Mūsā played the part of a woman throughout his life. He believed that the relation between God and men is that of a husband and wife. His followers too believed it and still they wear woman's dresses and bangles, and dance amidst other faqīrs in the guise of women uttering, "*Lā ilāha illallāh nūr Muḥammad Sallallāh* ( لا إله إلا الله نور محمد صلى الله )", "there is no god but Allah and His blessings be on Muḥammad, the light ( of Allah)".

(iv) Mirān Shāhī :- The name of the founder of this sub-order was, Mirān Muḥammad Shāh, entitled *Mawjā-i-Daryā* or the Wave of the Sea. His name is associated with the conquest of Chitore (1568 A.D.) by Akbar. When Akbar reached Chitore, he sent for the saint, who when brought before the Emperor, was requested by him to pray for his victory. He did this, and the Emperor came out victorious with the fall of Chitore. At this Akbar became very much pleased and devoted to the saint and granted "Jāgirs" in the state of Patiala and around Lahore, for the saint. Born in the year 1531 A.D., the Saint died in 1604 A.D.

The Qādiri order too in India, like its other Indian sister orders was divided into many sub-orders. Among them, the following were the principal ones :-

(i) N'iamatullāh Shāhī :- Sayyad N'iamatullāh Shāh of whom we have already mentioned in the previous chapter, was the founder of this sub-order. He died in the year 1430 A.D.

(ii) Bahlūl Shāhī :- The full name of the founder of this sub-order was Shaykh Bahlūl Daryāyī. He spent his whole life in travelling and was one of the famous darvishes of the Punjab. He died in the year 1575 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Tadhkirah*, pt. III pp. 25-26.

(iii) Qamīsiyah :- Hadrat Shāh Qamīṣ was the founder of this sub-order. He was one of the descendants of 'Abdu-'l-Qādir of Jilān (1078-1166 A. D.). When he came to India, he settled down at Salūrah in Bengal. This Salūrah seems to be identical with Sālār in the district of Murshidābād, Bengal. Naṣrullāh, a pious man of the locality where the saint settled down, gave his daughter in marriage to him. In course of time he became very famous and attracted around him a large following. He died in 1514 A. D. and was buried at Sālār.<sup>1</sup>

(iv) Naw Shāhī :- The real name of the founder of this sub-order was Hājī Muḥammad Qādirī Binnaw Shāh Ganj Bakhsh. His field of work was in the Punjab where he died in 1691 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

(v) Binawā :- 'Abdullāh Ghulām 'Alī Shāh of Delhi was its founder. He was a famous darvīsh of his time. He died at Delhi in 1824 A. D.

From Naqshbandī order only one sub-order was formed and that is Mujaddadiyah, founded by Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Naqshbandī Thānī (1563-1624 A.D.) We have already discussed sub-order. his life and activities in the previous chapter.

1. *Tadhkirah*, pt. III p. 27

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

## Chapter III

### Main principles of Sūfiism as expounded by the Indian ( including Bengali ) Sūfis

In the opening chapter of this book, we have said that Sūfiism in Bengal is a continuation of Sūfiism in Northern India and that a continual flow of Northern Indian Sūfiism was not abated until after the close of the fifteenth century A.D. Taking these facts into consideration, we like to lay down here some main principles of Northern Indian Sūfiism which was substantially the same as Sūfiism in Bengal up to the sixteenth century A.D. From the seventeenth century downward, Sūfiism in Bengal adopted a new channel and within a century and a half, it absorbed so many indigenous elements in relation of Sūfiism both beliefs and practices that it not only lost in India with its pristine purity and individuality but also its Sūfiism in Bengal. spiritual significance, inherent strength and expansive Character. With the loss of all these, Sūfiism in Bengal, became identical in many respects with Tantrikism, Yogiism, Nāthaiism and other similar systems of indigenous thought and asceticism. We shall, in due course, treat with this Neo-Sūfiism in Bengal. From this, it will, we think, be quite clear that the principles, which, we are going to enunciate in the following pages, are true so far as the history of Indian Sūfi thought up to the end of the sixteenth century A.D. is concerned.

Before considering the details of the development of Sūfiism in India, some preliminary observations would be helpful. Casual readers have every possibility of arriving at a hasty conclusion that the development of Sūfiism in India was just along the line of Sūfiism in the countries outside India. But the nature of the development of Indian Sūfiism was, though not quite different,

yet almost alien to the nature of the growth of Sufism outside India. In order to make familiar with this special nature of Indian Sufism, we propose, first of all, to proceed with the cardinal principles of Sufism as they have been explained and expounded by the Indian Sufis.

The quintessence of Indian Sufism, and in a wider sense, of Sufism outside India, is the three fundamental things, viz., God and Man, and the relation between them i. e. Love. The whole Sufi theosophy revolves on these three pivots which are so intimately connected with one another that one cannot go without the other. As we shall proceed on and on, we shall see, how very closely these three things are inter-dependent. Again, each of the main theories finds its expression through a number of others, some of which are of vital interest to the Sufi theosophy, while others are of supplementary or minor interest. As for example, from "God", the theories of *Tawhid* or Divine Unity, *Nūr* or Divine Light, *Hamah ust* or All is He, *Hamah az ust* or All is from Him, *Dhāt wa Sifat* or Divine Essence and Attributes etc., came out with a number of supplementary theories; from "Man" the theories of *Rūh* or Human Soul, *Qurbat* or Divine Proximity, *Hulul* or Infusion of Divine Spirit etc., etc. were advanced, and from "The Relation between God and Man" the theories of *Ishq* or Divine Love, *Fanā* or Self-annihilation, *Baqā* or Abiding in God etc. etc. were put forward. These are the main theories of Sufism in India as well as in other countries outside India.

### God

Indian Sufis believe in God, the Real (*al-Haqq*) and the loving (*Wadūd*). To them, these two aspects—the aspects of reality and lovingness,—have got so much prominence that other aspects have almost entirely fallen in the background. Though they sometimes address God as their Lord, and style themselves as His servants, yet the relation between them is not that of a stern task-master and his unwilling

servants. God has been studiously divested of His sterner qualities and shorn of all kinds of grandeur, majesty and pomp which keep him far away from us. He has thus been made an object to which man can approach with a loving heart. He is a friend, a comrade, a beloved. He longs to unite with them and they in their turn, pine for His union.

As God is the only Real Being, He only exists and exists for ever. In this sense He is the Eternal (*qadim*). The idea of reality has been so strongly attributed to God by the Indian Sufis that it has over-shadowed other qualities of God reducing Him to an almost inconceivable reality. Such a strong stress on this aspect of God's reality naturally led them to believe that the existence of things other than God, is surely unreal and illusory. Thus, they make two general divisions of all things, viz., God and not-God. God eternally exists; He is the Primal Being; other things came into being after Him; hence they are created (*ḥādith*). The idea of eternal existence attributed to God alone, includes in the process of Indian Sufi thought, the idea mainly of emanence and faintly of transcendence. The idea that God is in everything of the universe and everything of the universe is in God, is found in the teachings of the Indian Sufis. In this sense, all is He (*hamah ust*) and all is from Him (*hamah az ust*). But the chief feature of Indian Sufi theosophy is the undue prominence given to the theory of *hamah ust* or all is He.

From the metaphysical point of view, God is the embodiment of light. This light is the source of all things; it is the life of the universe. It is by this light the universe was created and it is this light which sustains it. This is the light which shines through every particle of this universe and the universe is the only place of its manifestation (*mazhar*) and men can see God in it, radiant with eternal glory. According to this kind of God's conception, His essence (*dhāt*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*) are nothing but light. Hence both *dhāt* and *ṣifāt* are one and absolutely one. In their nature, they are not different but in the process of manifestation they vary. As

*dhāt* is absolute, it is not ordinarily manifested. Its manifestation is limited to a subjective category. As *sifāt* is manifested through the creation, it is visible in an objective manner. The ways of its manifestation are three in number, viz., *jamāl* or absolute beauty, *husn* or phenomenal beauty, and *jalāl* or majestic beauty. *Jamāl* is also applied to the beneficent aspect of the Deity (Allah), as opposed to *jalāl* the terrible aspect.

#### Man.

According to the Indian Sufi theosophy, man is infinite in the finite; in other words, he is a God in the form of man. Like God he is eternal and everlasting and only his outward shape

is temporary and perishable (*fānī*). He was one with God and again he will be one with Him.

His present existence is the outcome of a temporary cessation from his everlasting abode in God (*baqā billāh*). When God felt His eternal loveliness very keenly, He intended to part with His essence for the manifestation of His beauties; and thus man was created after His own image. Hence the present existence of man is the evidence of his temporary separation with God. This is why the Indian Sufis always neglected the body and took every possible care for the development of the soul. The body is considered as a prison-house by them and hence they always try to get out of it by overcoming the evils of flesh (*nafs*) with the technical help of severe mortification, unusual austerity and physical hardship.

#### Relation between God and Man

According to the Indian Sufi conception, the only relation that is possible between God and Men, is the relation of *ishq* or love. Love and love only is the criterion of their creed and the guiding principle of their mundane life. As man is separated

from his origin and destined to be united again with it, it is quite natural for him to feel the separation and to pine for the ultimate union. The union is his desideratum and the life-long longing for it is love or *ishq*. Love is the mark of honour on the brow of the Sufi and the most precious and

ever-coveted jewel in his heart. This is the touch-stone which, turns everything into rare gold. This love is metaphorically expressed by the Sūfis by the word wine (*Khamar*, may, *bādah* etc.)—an intoxicating drug that can easily take a man out of his normal sense. In the mystic phraseology of the Sūfis, God is always expressed by the word *sāqī* who in Persia and other Islāmic lands is a young boy serving wine or other beverages to the merry-makers in a tavern or in a private house.

With these few preliminary but preparatory remarks, let us proceed with a few main theories of Sūfiism as they have been expounded by the Sūfis, either Indian or directly connected with India. In this connection, it should be mentioned that our present treatment of the subject will not be a critical one. We shall only elucidate here the theories as conceived by the Indian Sūfis or by those who are mainly responsible for the propagation of such ideas in India. A critical survey of all the theories will be made in one of the subsequent chapters.

### 1. Theory of Light (Nur)

The Qurān says, "God is the light of heavens and earth." (1) The Sūfi theory of light starts with this dictum and ends with the pantheistic interpretation of light, transforming it into beauty. The process of thought, they followed in interpreting the light, involves the argument that God is light and hence Transformation he is illuminating and effulgent. His light is the of light into cause of creation of heavens and earth. It is the beauty. soul of universe and the dynamic force in the creation through which it palpitates. The Sūfis feel this force behind the universe and claim to have perceived in their ecstatic trance (*wajd* or *ḥāl*) this universal eternal soul in its effulgent bloom (*tajallī*). God is effulgent and the Sūfis can mystically experience Him in effulgence. When they see Him and achieve the experience of His nearness (*qurbat*) they lose their normal sense and reach at a state of ecstatic trance (*wajd*). The state between the observation and actual experience, is the state of appreciating effulgence (*tajallī*) of God. This appreciation of effulgence is

(Qurān. Chap. XXIV. V-35)

(1) والله نور السموات و الارض +

the appreciation of Beauty. Just as the effulgence of a burning candle is nothing but beauty to a moth, attracting the wretched creature towards the candle, so also, the effulgence of God's light is nothing but beauty to the Sūfis, attracting them towards God. God is all-beautiful to them—all-beautiful like a lovely beloved who charms, tantalises and plays blandishments with her lover, but does not like to unite with him before she is convinced of his sincerity and enduring attachment for her. This is the reason, why Sūfis use generally the simile of a moth, when they interpret their relation with God. Just as a moth identifies the effulgence of a lamp with Beauty, so also the Sūfis make no difference between effulgence and Beauty. To them, "light"="effulgence"="beauty".

From the above, it will be seen that the foundation of the Sūfi interpretation of Beauty lies on the Theory of Light. To the Indian Sūfis, God is all-beautiful and all-loving. While they lay stress on one of these two aspects of God, the other one falls temporarily in the back-ground. But the aspect of beauty is never neglected by them, especially at a time when they undergo the acid test of infatuating attachment for God. At that time, they see beauty and nothing but beauty in God and cannot conceive God in any other way than the conception of the Beautiful. Hence they declare :

"When it was said, "Say, (there is) no ( God )," I answered,  
"There is nothing but absolute beauty";

And when it was said, "but (Allah)", I told,

"Thy phenomenal beauty is pervading".(x)

In interpreting the nature of beauty, Indian Sūfis have divided

(x) اِذَا قِيلَ - قُلْ - لَا - قُلْتُ غَيْرَ جَمَالِهَا -

وَإِنْ قِيلَ - إِلَّا قُلْتُ حُسْنُكَ شَائِعٌ -

(عبد الكريم البعلبكي)



it into two major divisions, viz. *jamāl* or absolute beauty and *ḥusn* or phenomenal beauty. In the above quotation, these two divisions are clearly marked. Manifestation of absolute beauty is the natural quality of beauty and both kinds of beauty, mentioned just now, is regularly manifested through the proper objects of manifestation (*mazhar*). *Jamāl* or absolute beauty is an essential quality in the essence (*dhāt*) of God. Hence, in its display, it requires by nature an organ of manifestation (*mazhar*) akin to its own nature. There is nothing that is fit for being the organ of its manifestation except the soul that throbs under the veil of human body or behind the cloak of visible matter of every particle of this universe. It manifests itself by way of reflection and not by way of emission:

"In the mirror of soul, I saw the reflection of Absolute Beauty  
Like the sun, I saw it reflected in the limpid water".(1)

As the absolute beauty is, by nature, connected with the *dhāt* of God, it cannot be seen by ordinary human eye, when it is reflected in the soul. Just as a man cannot see his own face without the help of a third object, so also, a Sufi cannot see the absolute beauty of God without the help of "the Eye of Heart". Heart is the seat of emotion and a highly impressionable organ in a man. Therefore, the Sufis choose it to be the active and actual instrument by the help of which absolute beauty of God can be visualised.

"O heart : the eye of head (i.e. reason or knowledge) does not see the absolute beauty of God;

If thou castest a look at the eye of heart (i.e. emotion)  
lo ! what happens".(2)

- (1) اندر ائنه جان عکس جمال دیدم  
همچون خورشید که در آب زلال دیدم  
(چشتی)
- (2) دلا جمال خدا چشم سر نمی بیند  
اگر بدیده دل یک نظر کنی چه شود  
(چشتی)

Khwājah Quṭbū-'d-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī avers his master in the following two lines :-

"No body can ever see His absolute beauty by the eye of head ;  
If thou desirest ( to see ) His absolute beauty, come, and wide  
open the eye of heart". (1)

Sharāfu-'d-Dīn Bū 'Alī Qalandar of Pānīpat, the first leader of the Qalandariyah order in India follows suit :

"Wide open the eye of heart and see the absolute beauty of  
the Comrade,

In every way and every direction you would see the face  
of the Sweetheart". (3)

The nature of the manifestation of absolute beauty is thus very delicate. It is emotion by which a man can see, rather, feel it. Knowledge and reason are unsurmountable obstacles on the way of realising it in the core of heart. The Ṣūfīs admit that absolute beauty manifests itself. But so far as its manifestation is concerned, it is not a material object that can be seen by ordinary human eye or felt by human senses. It is realised in the heart of hearts by some subjective process of thought.

The phenomenal beauty is the outward manifestation of God. Its outward characteristic is somewhat grosser than the other kind of beauty. It is objective in its nature and more concerned with the matter than with the spirit. It is mainly connected with the attributes (*ṣifāt*) of God. According to the Ṣūfīs of India, the attributes of God are but the universe and the things *Husn* or phenomenal beauty. It contains. Through this universe and its things of various types, shapes and colour, the phenomenal beauty (*husn*) of God is generally manifested. But, the universe and things it contains, are variable phenomena, with

(2) بچشم سرندیده هیچکس هرگز جمال او  
جمال او اگر خواهی بیا بکشای چشم دل  
(کاکلی)

(3) چشم دل بکشا جمال یار بین  
هر طرف هر سو رخ دلدار بین  
(بو علی قلندر)

the variation and change of which phenomenal beauty changes its shape and colour. But its inherent nature is not impaired by this change of manifestation: it is as if an immaterial change of the colour of a glass of water with the change of the colour of glass itself. When this kind of change takes place in the manifestation of phenomenal beauty, (*ẓun*) it is given different names. Hence, the names are but manifestational:

"Then, when His phenomenal beauty appears in variety,

It has been given (different) names for (various) manifestations".(1)

We have already observed that this universe is the medium through which phenomenal beauty of God manifests itself. The universe is again a component whole, the constituent units being the individual atoms. Hence every atom of the universe is, in its individual capacity, a good small medium of the manifestation of phenomenal beauty. This is why the Indian Sufis observe everywhere the phenomenal beauty: they see it in every place, every face, and in every atom of their bodies:

"Wherever I turned my face, I beheld Thy phenomenal beauty,  
As if every particle of my body became the place of Thy manifestation".(2)

There is a third kind of beauty known as *Jalāl* or majestic beauty of God. According to the major section of the Indian Sufis, it is not an independent form of God's beauty such as *jamāl* or *ḥusn*, but according to the other section (and they are in minority) it is so. But both the sections agree to the

(1) فلما تبدل حسنہ متنوعا

تسمى باسماء فهن مظانع

(عبد الكريم الجيلی)

(2) هر جا كه رخ كشودم حسن تو می نمودم

هر ذره از وجودم چو گشت مظهر تو  
(چشتی)

fact that it is majestic by nature. The majestic nature of this kind of beauty includes two antithetical conceptions of its manifestation, such as, curse and blessings, kindness and *Jalal* or majestic cruelty, anger and serenity etc. However, according to many Indian Sufis, it is only a part of *jamāl* or the absolute beauty of God. Bū 'Alī Qalandar, the saint of Panipat, belonged to this section; and he makes the position of his section clear by the following two lines:-

"The sun of perfection shone on every particle;  
From His absolute beauty emanated His majestic beauty"(1)

*Jalal* or majestic beauty of God is displayed on rare occasions, for, the potential burning quality that it possesses, may do some or other harmful deed. This beauty was once displayed, during the time of Moses, on the memorable mountain of Tur. It was so very burning that the mountain was burnt down by the display of this beauty. This is why, the powder of stones of the Tur mountain are still used by the Muslims all over the world as *Sūrmah* or collyrium.

Besides its burning aspect, it has, as stated above, a cool and refreshing aspect which too, is manifested on rare occasions. There are two kinds of blessings—fruitful and unfruitful. The fruitful blessings are the manifestation of refreshing and soothing aspect of *jalāl*.

There is a class of frenzied darvishes in India, who are generally known as *Jalālī faqīrs*. They are always in angry and frenzied mood (*ḥālat-i-jadhābah*) and none can or dare approach them for any purpose. They do not care for anything or for anyone. It is said that when they are in The Jalālī, *jalālī* mood or frenzied state of mind, they forget everything about the world and whatever they utter—curse or blessing—is fulfilled then and there on the spot. It is

(1) تافت برہر ذرہ خورشید کمال  
گشت پیدا از جمال او جلال  
( بوعلی قلندر )

further said that when these darvishes die, a blaze of fire is sometimes seen rising up from their graves in the dead hours of the night. These darvishes are more often called *majdhub* or mad than not.

In this connection it should be noted that the ontological enquiry of beauty, made by the Qalandars of India, is really fantastic. In their opinion, God once saw His own beauty and became infatuated with it. He deeply brooded over the result, if He displayed His beauty in any concrete form. In order to verify, what result it could produce, He intended to manifest His beauty. All on a sudden He saw that He was effulgent in the kingdom of existence :

"He saw His own phenomeal beauty with the eye of verification ;

( And all at once ) He became effulgent in the kingdom of existence." (1)

In this way when beauty came into being, it began to shine over the universe, everything of which, was created out of this beauty. Man too was created out of this. But, as absolute beauty (*jamāl*) of God has, by nature, entirely connected with *dhāt* of God, it has the capacity to lead one, naturally connected with it, to the ultimate goal of essence :

"Whoever is created out of His absolute beauty,  
Straight finds his way to the assembly of union". (2)

## 2. Theory of Divine Unity ( *Tawhīd* ).

Like the orthodox Muslims, the Sūfis of India believe in one God. But, they widely differ with their fellow brethren.

(1) دید حسن خویش با چشم شهود  
خود تجلی کرد ملک وجود  
( بوعلی قلندر )

(2) هر که اوشد افریده از جمال  
باز باید راه در بزم وصال  
( بوعلی قلندر )

on the conceptual unity of God. The theory of divine unity is not a new thing to the Muslims ; it is as old as Islām itself. Islām started with this theory and ended Ṣufis of India at a rigid monotheism. Ṣufis of India inherited and the theory pantheistic conception of divine unity. In course of divine unity, of time, this pantheistic conception was fully developed in the hands of the Indian Ṣufis and before the completion of two or three centuries, it became so much loose that it went far beyond the ordinary limit of toleration, necessitating a regular reformatory movement. It is interesting to note here that the unity of Godhead, as well as the pantheistic view of this unity were old things in Indian philosophy which also formed a background of Indian Ṣufism.

However, let us proceed with our present topic. In the opinion of the Indian Ṣufis, God is one—not absolutely but immanently. This universe is the place of His manifestation (*maẓhar*). He peeps out from every atom and every phenomenon of the universe. As the universe is a conglomeration of various phenomena and atoms, everyone of them is a sign of God's essence (*dhāt*) ;

Thou hast been illuminating through the phenomena since  
Thou hast created them :  
Then beware, they are away from Thee (because of)  
Veils on them.(1)

He is the real soul that animates the soul of the universe. This animation of the universal soul is felt by none but the saints and mystics. They observe signs of God in phenomena ;

تَجَلَّيْتَ فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ حِينَ خَلَقْتَهَا (1)

نَهَا هِيَ مَبْطُوتٌ عَنْكَ فِيهَا الْبَرَاقِعُ  
(عبد الكريم الجيلي)

they behold the different symbols ; but they do not see the Real Being ( *al-haqq* ). Though He has so many symbols and signs existing in this universe, yet He has no proper and particular symbols to represent Him in an adequate manner. Thus the Indian mystics cry out :

“All atoms of the universe are signs of Thy essence ;  
In spite of these signs why hast Thou no sign”?(1)

Here the Indian Sūfī theosophists admit that though the Real Being ( *al-haqq* ) is immanent, He is not adequately represented by the universe (which has its limitations). The inadequacy of representation has given Him two opposite natures of concealment and manifestation. So far as He is represented by the phenomena, He is manifest, and so far He is not represented by the phenomena ( and it is the largest part ) He is concealed. Inadequacy of representing capacity of the phenomena, causes Him to remain hidden and manifest at the same time and in the same place. Just as the sun behind a cloud is hidden and manifest at the same time and in the same place owing to the partial manifestation of its full phase, so also, God is hidden and manifest in this limited universe. This idea has been beautifully expressed by the the Indian mystics in the following manner :

“He is in the earth, in the firmament and in the X-place,  
Manifest and hidden is He in every particle”.(2)

It is now natural for superficial thinkers to presume that God must have been many ; because, had He been one and absolutely one, He would not have been able to manifest Him through so many phenomena of the universe. Indian Sūfīs repudiate

(1) جمله ذرات جهان هریک نشان ذات تست

با جود این نشانهای نشانى کیستى -

(چشتى)

(2) او در ارض و سما و لا مکان

او ست در هر ذره بیدار و نهان -

( بوعلی قلندر )

this process of thought in unequivocal terms. They say that phenomena exist, because God exists. Existence of phenomena is dependent on the existence of God ; but God's existence is not dependent on the phenomena :

“Whatever is, exists on account of Thine existence ;

All shall perish, and existence shall be Thine”. (1)

Plurality of phenomena cannot impair the unity of God. Because, the existence of phenomena is temporary while the Unity of God : existence of God is eternal and the manifestation in the plurality of God through the phenomena is nothing but the of phenomena. expression of the Eternal through the medium of the evanescent. This process of expression does not necessarily imply the plurality of God. Just as a quantity of pure water may easily take different colours in glasses of different hue, without undergoing any sort of change in colour, property, or quantity, so also God, manifesting Himself through the diverse phenomena of the universe, remains to be one and one only without undergoing any sort of change :

“Say not that the plurality of phenomena is contradictory to unity

View thou the reality of things—all is He”. (2)

It is now clear that the Sūfīs of India preached the unity of God in the plurality of phenomena. In order to understand this kind of divine unity, an “Eye of Reality” One essential (*naẓr-i-ḥaqīqat*) is indispensably necessary. Unless a God behind man possesses such an eye of the mystics, he is the Univers. altogether deprived of the sight of one essential God (*dhāt-i Khudā*) amongst these divergent phenomena of the universe. Sūfīs of India were not concerned with the

(1) موجود از وجود تو باشد بر آنچه هست

فانی شود جمله و باشد ترا بقا -

(کاکبی)

(2) مگو که کثرت اشیاء لقیض و خدت گشت

تو در حقیقت اشیاء نظر نکن همه اوست

(چشتی)



manifestational or phenomenal God. What they discovered and then realised is this that behind all kinds of manifestation and all forms of phenomena, there is one and only one essential God who, in spite of His divergent manifestations through various phenomena, does never undergo any change in Essence :

“O Thou art one in essence in spite of plurality :

O the One of things, Thy essence is manifest”. (1)

It should be noted here that people may take the advantage of the inverted form of the Sūfis' argument. They may argue that a god who manifests him through diverse phenomena cannot be one ; because, the phenomena are nothing but media which have no different colours, because different gods manifest them through these media. Just as a white glass can take different colour according to the colour and property of its contents, so also phenomena are different according to the difference of manifestations of various gods. The Sūfis of India strongly denounce such inverse arguments. They say, God cannot be many, because, He is pure from all other things. The contents of the white glass may differ in colour and property, because, they cannot remain pure from the mixture of other things. But God is pure from everything that exists and that will exist. So, He cannot be many :

(1) فَيَا أَحَدِي الذَّاتِ فِي عَيْنِ كَثْرَةٍ

وَيَا وَاحِدَ الْأَشْيَاءِ ذَاتِكَ شَائِعٍ

(عبد الكريم الجيلی)

"Deem Him to be one in things, because He is pure;  
And behind the curtain of creation the Light is shining." (1)

### 3. Theory of "All is He" (*Hamah Ūst*)

The theory of "All is He" (*hamah ūst*) is the result of the above-mentioned conception of divine unity (*tawhīd*). We have already seen that only God exists and He Identification exists immanently in the universe. Only His of phenomena existence is eternally real and the existence of with God. things beside Him, is evanescent. If nothing except God exists in the universe, then consequently whatever we see to exist cannot but be God. Besides this, the immanent character of God, led the Şūfīs of India to think that whatever they see is but the manifestation of God. They not only believe in the present existence of phenomena as identical with the existence of God, but also they believe that existences of phenomena in the past and future are the same as the past and future phasses of God's existence. Immanence of God pervades time and space. It is not limited by anything, known or unknown, hidden or manifest :

"The beginning and the end, the manifest and the hidden-all is He,  
Alone He was, alone He is, and alone He will be" (2)

Sarmad, (beheaded in 1659 A. D.), the martyred saint of India, expresses this principle of identifying everything with God in the following mystical quatrain :-

O ascetic::drink wine; because it is far better  
Than the donning of cloak wherein lies the intoxication of a  
hundred mischiefs.

(1) *و وحده فی الاشیاء فهو علته* (1)

و خلف حجاب الكون للنور ساطع  
(عبد الكريم الجيلی)

(2) اول و آخر و ظاهر و باطن همه اوست  
که همبود و همو هست و همو خواهد بود  
(چشتی)

It is undoubtedly lawfull ; if thou tellest to be unlawful

The explanation will be—whoever ponders—all is He”(1)

Such an idea of phenomenal identification with God was a common cardinal principle of all classes of Indian Sūfī mystics. From the very beginning of the advent of the Sūfīs into India, this idea was gaining ground amongst them. In the writings of almost all the prominent Sūfīs of India, we meet with similar lines quoted above. For the sake of illustration, the following two lines may be quoted here :-

“Whatever thou seest is, in reality, He,—

Candle, flower, moth, nightingale—all is from Him” (2)

One thing should be noted here. Almost all of the Sūfīs of India admit that everything is from God, yet everything is He. This assertion simply means that the Creator and the created are one and identical. Then, surely God is not absolute. His oneness (*wāḥidat*) comprehends the phenomenal existences, by the collocation of which His oneness has been conceived. Unity of God is therefore a component unity. We become familiar with this conceptual kind of divine unity from the prominent Sūfī writers of India :

“Out of Him, He has manifested the signs of His attributes in Him ;

Then those signs are what He is the Creator of.

(1) زاهد به‌خور باده که بسیار نکوست

از خرقه کشی که خمار صد فتنه دروست

بے شبه حلال است بگوی تو حرام

کیفیت این هر که بپاید همه اوست

(مرمد)

(2) هر چه بینی در حقیقت جمله اوست

شمع و گل پروانه بلبل هم ازوست

(بو علی قلندر)

His attributes, name and sign—all these

Which exist are the very essence and Allah is a component whole". (1)

If the Creator and the created are one, the created may naturally claim godhood. Then the natural conclusion that follows is this that there is nothing in the universe, which is not a God. Al-jīlī accepts the principle as true, but he does not like to entertain the idea of godhood in every phenomenon. He argues that as the phenomenal deity is merged in the component unity of God, none need take the divergent phenomena as individual deities :-

"But the laws of Thy dignity require

Godhood for the reverse which are united in the godhood".(2)

Along with the growth of such identical conception of the Creator and the created, all distinctions between the underlying property of phenomena and the phenomena themselves were gone. The Indian Ṣūfis forgot the difference between the lover and his beloved (i. e. God), love (*'ishq*) and the lover (*m'ashūq*) and wine and the cup-bearer : other.

(1) فَاِبْرَزْ مِنْهُ فِيهِ اَثَارٌ وَصَفُهُ  
فَذَالِكُمْ الْاَثَارُ مَا هُوَ صَانِعٌ  
فَاَوْصَافُهُ وَالْاِسْمُ وَالْاَثَارُ الَّذِي  
هُوَ الْكُونُ عَيْنُ الْذَاتِ وَاللَّهُ جَامِعٌ  
(عَبْدُ الْكَرِيمِ الْجِيلِي)  
(2) وَلَكِنَّمَا اَحْكَامُ رَتَبَتِكَ اَقْتَضَتْ  
الْوَهْيَةَ لِلضَّدِّ فِيهَا التَّجَامُعُ  
(عَبْدُ الْكَرِيمِ الْجِيلِي)

"Where is wine (i. e. divine love) and the cup and who is my cup-bearer (i. e. God)?  
Be silent, O Mu'nu-'d-Dīn do not talk,—all is He" (1)

In this way, when all distinctions between phenomena and God disappear, there cannot remain anything like goodness or badness (*Khayr wa Sharr*): ultimate Reality prevails everywhere and in everything, good or bad, that exists. In such a state of mystical perfection, badness (*Sharr*) is as dear to a mystic as goodness (*Khayr*). He loves a harlot or a despised dog no whit less than a pious devotee or a pure pat. Because

"Whatever comes to sight good or bad,  
Is the essence of the Reality, O the unaware!" (2)

#### 4. Theory of Essence and Attributes (*Dhāt wa Sifat*)

This is one of the fairly old theories of Sūfism. Sūfis of India received it from their spiritual ancestors of Persia, Turkistān and Afghānistān. In this theory, Sūfis of India and outside differ from one another but little. Hence, we do not like to devote much space in elaborating this theory here.

God is generally viewed by the Sūfis from two standpoints, that is, from the standpoint of *dhāt* or essence and *sifat* or attributes. "*Dhāt* is the finest possible element of God, very rarely witnessed or realised by especial class of Sūfi thinkers only. In nature, it is identical with the soul of Nature of man and is the ultimate reality of all things. Its Essence, has no colour, no shape or no substance that can be perceived by ordinary human senses. It is only a comprehensible entity and the soul of the universe is only a part

(1) چه جاے باده و جام و کدام ساقی من است  
خموش باش معینے و دم مزن همه اوست  
(چشتی)

(2) هرچه آید در نظر از خیر و شر  
جمله ذات حق بود اے یے خبر  
(بوعلی قلندر)

It is interesting to note here that the position of some of the Vedantists too is exactly like this. Cf. poem on "Brahma" by R. W. Emerson, the American writer.

of this entity. Its manifestation is beyond the comprehension of ordinary human being.

*Sifāt* or attributes are the creations of God. Although *dhāt* or essence is generally manifested in a very fine or subtle manner, it sometimes manifests itself grossly. When *dhāt* is grossly manifested in the forms of myriads of phenomena, it is then called

*Sifāt* :

"The truths of Essence have, in view of the dignity of His truth, Been given the name *Khalq* (the created) and the truth is pervading" (1)

*Sifāt* or creations are therefore materialised *dhāt* or rather a *Dhāt* which, when manifested, can be seen touched or smelt by the ordinary human being. They (i. e. *sifāt*) may be characterised as the dynamic force of God while the *dhāt* as the static essence of the force that causes all creations to come into being ultimately.

From the above discussion, it is now clear that *dhāt* and *sifāt* are the two aspects of one divinity. This is why the Sūfis of India do not make any distinction between these two kinds of popular and the same. Both are essentially one and the same. conceptions :-

"While I do not see any difference between the essence and the attributes, Whatever, I observe, I do not see it save and except God". (2)

(1) حَقَائِقُ ذَاتٍ فِي مَرَاتِبِ حَقِّهِ

وَسَمَى بِاسْمِ الْخَلْقِ وَالْحَقِّ وَاسِعٍ

(عبد الكريم الجيلي)

(2) صفات و ذات چون از هم جدائی بینم

بهرچه می نگرم جز خدا نمی بینم -

(چشتی)

### 5. Theory of Soul (Ruh)

This theory is one of the most important theories of Sufism. It is important in the sense that, the views of the Sufis, with regard to soul, have far surpassed the limit of the ordinary conception of the orthodox Muslim theologians. It is useless to discuss here the complicated and controversial question of these two antithetical sets of views. The Qurān and the explanation Even the holy Qurān has cleverly avoided the of the soul. answer to this complicated question. When the Prophet was asked by Jews to describe the nature of human soul and to explain its origin and its final state, the answer to the question as recorded in the Qurān was this ;

"Say : the soul is by the commandment of my Lord" (1) We do not know, whether the unbelievers ( - the Jews ), who demanded from the Prophet the explanation of the mystery of human soul, were satisfied with this vague solution of such a knotty problem ; but nowhere in the Qurān, we have, as the theologians say, been offered a better solution than this. The questioning and meditative human mind was surely not satisfied with this arbitrary solution of the intricate problem of soul. Because, the philosophers and the theosophists of the succeeding age had independently tried to solve this question in a satisfactory way. Indian Sufis too tried to solve this problem. Some of them utterly failed to come to a definite conclusion, while others succeeded in doing so, in a manner satisfactory at least to themselves and their followers.

The Sufis of India do not accept the Qurānic version of the interpretation of soul. They either reject it altogether or twist it for such an interpretation as Sufi thought on to support their own views. Although their line of the question of thought is independent of the trammels of *Shari'at* or ecclesiastical canons of Islām, yet they have often tried to hide their dissident philosophy under

(1) وَ يَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الرُّوحِ . قُلِ وَالرُّوحِ مِنْ أَمْرِ رَبِّي .

"And they ask thee of the soul ; say : the soul is by the commandment of my Lord". Qurān XVII. 85.

the cloak of scriptures. However, the views of those who deviate from the Qur'anic interpretations, may well be represented by the following quotation :

"O Qutbu'd-Din if anybody ask thee of the soul,  
Do say that it is not the commandment of God, (but it  
is ) the God of souls" (1)

And the views of the other school of thought may be represented by the following two lines :-

"The order of my Lord gave the name of *Rūḥ* to me ;  
The cup-bearer of Unity (then) filled up my wine cup" (2)

The first school of thought informs us that the soul of men is not the commandment of God, but it is the "God of souls". Here the phrase "God of souls" means the "Great Soul" i. e. God Himself. According to the second school, the soul got its particular name "*rūḥ*" by the commandment of God. As it has been mentioned previously, according to ecclesiastical canons of Islām ( *Shari'at* ) soul (*rūḥ*) came into being by the commandment of God, i. e. when God commanded on the day of first creation (*yawmu-'l-azl* or *rūz-i-azl* ), souls were created like other creations of God. Then people attributed to it the name of *rūḥ* owing to its creation out of finer elements.

However, ultimately both the schools of Ṣufī thought completely agree with each other on one point : and that is, that the soul of men is the ultimate Reality Where the two schools agree. i. e. essence of God. They argue that if the human soul be not the *dhāt* or essence of God, then why did the angels prostrate before Adam ?

(1) از روح قطب الدین ز تو پرسد اگر کسی

بر گو که نیست امر خدای خدای روح -

(کاکلی)

(2) امر ربم روح کرده نام ما

کرد پرماقی وحدت جام ما

(بوعلی قلندر)



Adam was made of earth and from the point of view of formation he was assumed to be inferior to the angels who are believed to have been made of celestial elements. The Sūfīs argue, angels did not prostrate before him while Adam was a mere lump of earth ; they did that after the infusion of soul Soul is the ( *rūḥ* ) into Adam. This simply means that the act essence of God. of angel's prostration before Adam was due to the infusion of soul into him. The soul was not an ordinary thing ; it was the *dhāt* or essence of God. Angels never bow their heads before anybody save God, and as soul was the essence of God, they prostrated before it. The following quotations from different Sūfī poets of India will clearly illustrate the trend of Sūfī thought regarding the soul of men :-

“Had it been that essence of the Real was not in the body  
( of Adam ),  
Then why the angels prostrated before the Man”(1)

And—

“In the audience of Adam, made of earth, angels  
Completely bowed low (before him) simply for the soul”(2)

Again

“Had not His light been found on the countenance of Adam  
The angels would never have humiliatingly prostrated before  
him.

(1) گرنبودے ذات حق اندر وجود

آب و لؤلؤ را کی ملک کردے سجدے -

(چشتی)

(2) دربارگاہ آدم خاک کی ملائکہ

کردند سجدہ جملہ دراز از برای روح

(کاکبی)

The fact that, 'I infused my spirit into Adam'—is sufficient ;  
The spirit is nothing but His self,—O the quarrelling !"(1)

From the above discussion, it will be seen that the soul is the ultimate Reality or in other words, the essence of God. If it is the essence of God, it is certainly not created, and it possesses the same nature as the essence of Soul is uncreated, God. Before its infusion into the human body, it was completely one with God ; but after its infusion, it became manifest to the world.

"I ( i.e. the soul ) had no entity in the garden of Unity ;  
When I came to plurality ( i.e. phenomenal world ) I became manifest" (2)

In this way, when the soul was infused into the human body, it became separated from the essence of God. The soul is virtually the same as the essence of God and hence, it possesses all the necessary qualities that the essence of God does. After its separation from the origin, it was not at all desirous to waive its original privileges for the frail and impure human body. It

(1) وَلَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي وَجْهِهِ أَدَمُ نُورُهُ

لَمَا سَجَدَ الْإِبْرَاهِيمُ وَهُوَ خَوَاضِعٌ

وَفِي لَيْبِهِ مِنْ رُوحِي نَفْخَتْ كِفَايَةٌ

هَلْ أَرُوحَ الْأَعْيُنِ يَا مُنَازِعَ

(عبد الكريم الجيلاني)

(2) بوده ام در باغ وحدت بی نشان

چون بکثرت آمد گشتم عیان

(بوعلی قلندر)

thought that its pristine purity and other qualities might be in danger, if it chose human body as its abode. So, with the utmost reluctance, it came to the world to live in the human body, where God wished it to reside in. From the very moment of its separation from the origin, it began to think of this human body as a prison :

“My sacred soul is confined in the human prison,  
I am concealed like the sun which is in the fist of an  
earthen vessel” (1)

From the above speculations, Indian Ṣūfis deem the soul to be ever pure and eternal like the *dhāt* or essence of God.

As it is a part of the Universal Soul, it has always an intimate communion with God. A dream is a good medium of the communion of soul with God. Hence, we see, the dream plays an important part in the life of certain darvishes. *Ilhām* or inspiration is another medium through which God reveals the mystery of many things to the darvishes.

#### 6. Theory of Proximity ( *Qurbat* )

This theory is said to have based on the mystic Qurānic verse : “We are nearer to him ( man ) than his jugular vein”(2) Like all other mystics of the world, the Ṣūfis of India too, yearned for an ultimate union with God. Throughout the whole life, they ardently desired the coveted union ; but where they would find and meet their Beloved, i.e. God ? We have already observed that the Ṣūfis of India conceived of an immanent God in every phenomenon which is and is not His sign at the same

(1) روح قدسم بقعود بشری گشته اسیر  
همچون خورشید که در مشت گلے مستورم -

(چشتی)

(2) نحن اقرب الیه من حبل الوريد -

Qurān L. 16.

time. This dual nature of phenomena was thought by them to be deceptive ; because it could and could not elude them at the same time. Being sufficiently aware of this deceptive nature of phenomena, most of the Indian Ṣūfīs renounced the idea of a phenomenal God. They tried to seek Him elsewhere. Where then is the sure place to meet with Him ?

In order to come to a definite conclusion, the Indian Ṣūfīs are said to have consulted the Qurān. The fore mentioned verse supplied them with the necessary text and they understood it more or less in their own light and interpreted it according to their own process of thought, which differs, in many respects, from that of other thinkers. They came to the conclusion that God is within the body of a man, because, He is nearer to a man than his jugular vein. The idea of proximity has been conceived in such a way that it leaves no space at all between man and God. It is mystically conceived and has been straightly directed to the physique of a man. There is nothing in the universe, which is not represented in the body of a man. The whole of universe with all its wonderful mysteries, is in the body. It is as if an excellent microcosm :

“If with the Eye of Reality, thou lookest at thy own body, Thou shalt find the existence of all things in thy own being” (1)

This kind of idea about the body of a man led them to the conclusion that they should not direct their attention to the vast universe for their quest for God, whom they can easily meet within the microcosm of their own body. If all the wonders and mysteries of the universe are collectively found in a body, why they shall try to obtain them elsewhere outside it ? Their business and ulterior motive is to fathom the wonders and

(1) اگر به چشم حقیقت وجود خود بینی  
قیام جملة اشیاء بود خود بینی  
- (چشتی) -

mysteries of the world and thereby to realise God—the ultimate Reality. The body, being a counterpart of the universe, is thus chosen as the best place, where they can realise God. It is as if a rendezvous where man, the lover, and God, the Beloved, can meet each other :

“Nearer than the heart is that beloved Sweetheart ;  
But thou hast not yet been lost in this unvisited lane”. (1)

Again—

“The Comrade is within thee ; then why art thou unaware  
of Him ?

The Comrade is in the self of thine ; then why art thou  
wandering about from door to door” (2)

The importance of human body was thus increased by the Sūfis of India. With the growth of its importance, Unusual importance attached close attention was drawn to the proper and perfect knowledge of a body. This knowledge included the to a body, spiritual as well as the material aspects of man.

The foundation of the material aspect was strongly laid on the spiritual one. Again, the Sūfis of India thought that the spiritual aspect of a man cannot properly be developed unless he disciplines and curbs his material aspect of austerity and physical mortification. The two aspects are thus made inter-dependent. The main aim of this is to develop the spiritual force of a man through the medium of material body. Along with such a change of thought an elaborate system of practices soon grew up. The ultimate aim of these practices is the realisation of the Real Self by the cultivation of material self. Unless the

(1) نزدیک ترازان بود آن دلبرجانی  
اما تو درین کوئے معطل نه فانی  
(کاکلی)

(2) یاردر تو پس چرائی بے خبر  
یاردر خود تو چه گردی در بدر  
(بوعلی قلندر)

material self is systematically cultivated, the Real Self is never realised. This is why the Sufis of India lay unusual stress on the cultivation of material self ;

“Do not say, ‘How the eye of the mortal sees the Eternal ? :  
It suffices me that I do not see my own self” (1)

From the above discussion on God being within the body Immanent of a man, the question arises—is He in a particular character of God part of the body or pervading the whole of it ? within the body. The Indian Sufis are of the opinion that God is not confined to any particular part of a man’s body ; He pervades the whole of it :

“O pure Sufi ! thou art seeking God ;  
Due to thy own blindness thou art seeking Him (separately) :  
I am speaking with thee night and day ;  
I am in thy body from head to foot ; thou art seeking  
Me (in vain)” (2)

Hence, the proximity of God is an immanent proximity and not a transcendental one. This immanent character of proximity has both advantages and disadvantages. The inseparable connection of God with body compels a Sufi to be a lover and beloved at the same time. As a lover, he thinks of his Beloved residing within him. He can not tangibly realise his Beloved as a separate entity. When he tries to realise, he apprehends the danger of identifying him with his Beloved and thus exclaims :

(1) مگو کہ دیدہ حادث قدیم کی ہند  
ہمین بہست کہ من خویش رانی اینم -  
(چشتی)

(2) ای صوفی صافی تو خدا میطلبی  
کوری زخویشتن جدا میطلبی  
من باتو شب و روز غیاں میگویم  
سرتا قدمت منم مرا میطلبی -  
(سرمد)

"Day in and day out He is with me, but I am stupified in His quest ;  
The difficulty is this that I am both the united and the separated" ( 1 )

#### 7. Theory of Affirmation and Negation ( *ithbāt wa Nafī* )

Here are two theories—one of affirmation ( *ithbāt* ) and the other of negation ( *nafī* ). But they are so interwoven that they have virtually become one. To try to alienate one from the other, is to do injustice to both of them. Hence, we like to treat them both as one theory.

This theory is said to have been advanced on the strength of a famous tradition ( *ḥadīth* ), namely, "you all die before you ( actually ) die"(2). The echo of this tradition is heard from the following two lines of Khwājah Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī :

"Whoever is dead before his ( actual ) death,  
Do not call him dead ; he is by God, abiding in the Real"(3)  
In course of time, this idea of a novel death throve luxuriantly among the doctrines of the Indian Sūfis. They began to ponder over the discovery of a new plan by which they can acquire the merit of such a virtuous death before their actual death. By the way of affirmative and negative process, they came to the conclusion that such a death is possible for a man before his physical death. This is not an actual death of a man, when all his physical functions cease to work. It is the cessation of one's

(1) روز و شب بامن و من در طلبش سرگردان  
مشکل این است که هم واصل وهم مهجورم -  
(چشتی)

موتوا قبل ان تموتوا -

(2) موتوا قبل ان تموتوا -  
(3) هرائکه پیشتر از مرگ خویشتن مرده  
مگو مرده اورا قسم خدا بحق بقامالده -  
(کاکلی)

all connections with and attachment for the work. This stage of the Indian mystics may be characterised as the stage of complete deliverance from all sorts of mundane bondages. In order to attain this perfection, a Ṣūfī is required to pass through the following four stages :

- (a) Affirmation of negation (*ithbāt-i-naḥī*)
- (b) Negation of affirmation (*naḥī-i-ithbāt*).
- (c) Self-annihilation (*Fanā*)
- (d) Abiding in God (*Baqā billāh*).

Firstly, a Ṣūfī affirms everything that is negated. This is a stage in which negative tendencies of mind is removed by the concentration of all the forces of affirmative tendencies. The negative aspect of the universe and man, such as the universe is not really existing, the existence of man is not real etc., is strongly discarded by the declaration that the universe exists and exists with its diverse phenomena and that man exists and exists with all his virtues and his blemishes and in flesh and blood. Such prominence of the affirmative aspects has given this stage another name of *ithbāt-i-sifat* or affirmation of the attributes. It is so called, because a Ṣūfī affirms the attributes or creations of God.

With all the necessary limitations of human being, a Ṣūfī tries to realise God in this stage. He frankly admits of his own shortcomings and fully believes in his human existence. In spite of all these, he must reach his goal of union with God. In order to achieve this 'summum bonum' of his life he tries to conquer his self. He thinks that the only bar to his union with the Beloved or the only thick veil hiding his beautiful Sweetheart, is his own existence only :

"There had been not a single veil hiding the Beloved, but, Everywhere the veils had been, they all were the selves of you" (1)

(1) از جانب معشوق حجاب نبود لیک

هر جا که حجابی بود آن جمله شما نید  
( کاکی )



In this way, when the consciousness of the self is fully realised by an affirmative process, then the stage of negation *nafī* is reached. This stage is generally called the stage of *nafī-i-ithbāt* or negation of affirmation ; it is sometimes called the stage of *Nafī* or negation. All that was affirmed in the previous stage is simply negated in this stage. It is one step forward to the mystic goal : Sūfī mystics do now forget and forget totally the attributes *i. e.*, creations (*ṣifāt*) and concentrate all their attention to the essence (*dhāt*) :

“Negation of the essence of self is better than affirmation of the first attributes ;

What wilt thou do with the chief when there is no place for thy head” (1)

But in the struggle for the negation of affirmation, first of all, attention of a Sūfī is generally drawn to his own existence. Because, he fully realises that along with the affirmation of his own existence, all other affirmations are bound to be admitted as necessary concomitants. This is why, the Sūfī tries to negate his own existence first. In this stage, he fasts and prays, wilfully undergoes severe mortifications and adopts many other artificial methods for the total extinction of passion and desire. But he repeatedly fails in his attempts. In spite of his repeated failures he is not daunted ; he ungrudgingly cherishes the idea of negation, extols it beyond measure and pursues the ideal with renewed vigour and strength of mind :

“For a moment only, if thou be away from thy own existence, it is better than hundred years’

Continual observance of fast and performance of nocturnal prayers”. (2)

(1) نفی ذات خود بودن ز اثبات صفات اولی

ترا افسر چه کار آید چون اینجا سر نمیگنجد

(چشتی)

(2) دمی هستی خود بگزری از صد سال

که روز روزه بداری و شب نماز کنی -

(چشتی)

Again

So long as thou existest, never will the Comrade be of thine,  
When thou wilt extinct thy existence, the Comrade will be  
of thine". (1)

In this way, the Şūfīs train themselves in the school of negation. They wholly clear off their minds of all thoughts except those in connection with God and completely control their minds and evil tendencies of the flesh (*nafs*). In this respect, this stage is a stage of complete purgation and purification of mind and a preparatory mystic state of subjective thoughts, transformed into actions.

The second stage is supposed to lead fast a Şūfī to the third stage, i.e. the stage of *fanā* or self-annihilation. Here the negative aspect of mind remains no longer. This

(c) is the stage where along with the ascetic practice, Self-annihilation, including mortification, fast and prayer, the 'Infinite Aspect' of a man is revived in him. He loses his ordinary conscious thought-power, but he feels a sort of unspeakable joy generally felt by a class of privileged mystics in a state of rapture. This state of mind is known in Şūfī phraseology as *wajd* or rapture. In this stage, bliss is a predominating feature which shadows all other features of sorrow and misery. The mystic is here actually united with his ever-longed-for Beloved; but his union is only temporary. In the ecstatic moment of mental abstraction, he meets with his Beloved in the region of a blissful state grown out of the subjective process of his thought. When that privileged state of mind is gone, he is separated from his Beloved and then he laments thus for the union :

"I have lost my entity in the quest of that Non-entity,  
Ultimately I wish to identify my entity with the Non-entity"(2)

(1) تاتوئی کی یارگردد یارتو + چون نباشی یار باشد یارتو -  
(بو علی قلندر)

(2) بی نشان گشتم من اندر جستن آن بی نشان  
عاقبت در بی نشانی بی نشان خواهم شدن  
(چشتی)

Lastly the goal is reached : the desideratum for the identification of self-entity with the Non-entity is fulfilled. The experiences of this stage is beyond description. No Ṣūfī

(d) has, as yet, been able to express his experience of Abiding in God, this stage in adequate words and precise terms. So far as can be understood from the poetic and mystic utterances of the Ṣūfīs, the state of *baqā* or the abiding in God is a completely blissful state of the minds of mystics, where no pleasure or pain is at all felt. In this stage they lose their entities in the entity of God. Just as a word is inseparable from its meaning, an eye from its sight, and a flower from its fragrance, so also the Ṣūfī is inseparable from his Beloved :

“Look at ourselves and Him just as the meaning of words :  
When the eye and the sight are different, look at them in  
one place ;

Thou shalt not ever find Him totally separated from anybody  
Like the flower and its odour, wherever you see” (1)

### 8. Theory of Love (*‘ishq*)

This is one of the most important theories of Ṣūfīsm in general and Ṣūfīsm of India in particular. We have earlier mentioned that the relation of love (*‘ishq*) is the only relation that can be established between God and man. God has been divested-off of all other qualities save the quality of *Wadudiyyat* or lovingness. He is the most loving Beloved, rather Comrade with whom the Indian Ṣūfīs are wedded to by the single inalienable tie of love.

(1) چون معنی لفظ ما و او را بنگر  
چون چشم و لکه جدا و یک جا بنگر  
یکدم ز کسے جدا نیایی هرگز  
مانند گل و بوست بھر جا بنگر  
(سرمد)

As for the origin of love, the theory, advanced by the Indian Sūfis, would appear to the unsympathetic as a fantastic and amusing idea. Their conception about its origin may be described in the following terms: God, the Beautiful was alone in the vast realm of eternity. He was, as if, feeling lonely, there being none to appreciate His phenomenal beauty. As His phenomenal beauty demanded a passionate appreciation from others, He keenly felt the necessity of creating man as His lover. Yet, He did not create him.

In this way, while He was passing His time in a lonely manner, He once saw His phenomenal beauty, and projected His own being for a fuller appreciation of Himself. When God saw His own phenomenal beauty, He could not restrain Him. Charmed with His own beauty, He instantaneously became love-intoxicated. He then manifested His love and created man to be His partner in amour. As an illustration to such an idea of the origin of love, the following four lines are useful :

‘Dost thou know at all what is the origin of love ?

**Life of love is due to the phenomenal beauty of the Beloved.**

When the phenomenal beauty of the Beloved looked at its  
ownself.

It became love-intoxicated and offered love". (1)

Behind this apparently fantastic and allegorical theory of the origin of love, lies the following real implication: Phenomenal beauty of God is the progenitor of love. It is this beauty which excites the Ṣūfī feeling of love and drives the Ṣūfī thought into action. Hence, the Ṣūfis of India sing the praise of beauty couched in most hyperbolical language. It occupies a superior

(1) هیچ میدانی که اصل عشق چیست  
عشق را از حسن جانان زند گشت  
حسن جانان چون نظر درخویش کرد  
گشت شیداعشق را در پیش کرد -  
(بوعلی قلندر)

place in their hearts than the Qurān they read, the religion they profess and the piety they possess :

"And I read a verse from the Qurān of Thy phenomenal beauty ;

Then, that is my Qurānic order and I am afraid of it.

Then my faith, my Islām and my piety—all these consist in this that

I am perishable for Thy phenomenal beauty ; certainly I am obedient to Thy command" (1)

Besides this, there is another school of thought which thinks otherwise of the origin of love. According to this school, love is nothing but the longing of human soul for a union with the Universal Soul from which it had been separated on the Day of Creation (rūz-i-azal). We have already noticed that human soul was one with the Universal Soul before it was infused into the body of Adam. Since its infusion, it has been feeling an eternal pangs of separation. Human body is not a proper abode for the soul ; it is as if a prison-house. The soul, being all pure, eternal and infinite in nature, cannot comfortably adapt itself to the impure, evanescent and finite body. Hence, it is natural for the soul to pine for its original abode. This pining has been identified with love. So long as the human soul does not reach its destination of union with the Universal Soul, it longs for the desired union. Just as a stream flows towards the sea for union, so also the human soul progresses to the union with the Universal Soul singing the bewailing note of long separation :

(1) وَ اقْرَأْ مِنْ قُرْآنِ حَسَنِكَ آيَةً + فَذَلِكَ قُرْآنِي إِذَا أَنَا خَاشِعٌ

فَدِينِي وَإِسْلَامِي وَتَقْوَى الْمَنِيِّ + لِحَسَنِكَ فَإِنْ لَا تَمَارِكْ طَائِعٌ

(عبد الكريم الجيلبي)

"The roar of an inundation is for its separation from the sea ;  
And the inundation which is mingled with the sea, is a silent  
one (1)

Whatever might have been the origin of love, it is the criterion of the Sufi faith in India. This is the thing which intoxicates the Sufis like madman and prepares them to sacrifice health, wealth, comfort, honour and even life. The illimitable character of manifestation of the Real acter of love compels them to love every phenomenon of the universe. They love animate and inanimate objects, men and animals alike. In short, they are philanthropists in the widest sense of the term. No particular religion can exert any orthodox influence on them and no special creed can imbue them with misleading ideas. Questions of infidelity they shun, and special faith they give up :

"O censor ! ask not the lovers of infidelity and faith,

Whoever becomes a lover is beyond infidelity and faith"(2)

They neither care for a mosque, nor for a church in their search for the Real who is immanent in all objects. The period of fiery ordeal offered at times of noviceship through the test of doubts and despairs, hope and encouragement, and failure and success, they pass with a smiling face. Love guides them to overcome the pitfalls in the way to their union with the Real.

"I put a question to Love, "Tell me where is the Real?"

It replied, "Wherever thou shalt seek—in a mosque or in  
a church—He is". (3)

(1) سیل را نعره از آن است که شد از بحر جدا

و آنکه با بحر در آمیخته خاموش آمد

(چشتی)

(2) محتسب از عاشقان از کفر و از ایمان میپرس

هر که عاشق گشت او از کفر و از ایمان گزشت

(کاکلی)

(3) کردم از عشق سوالی که بگو حق بکجاست

گفت هر جا طلبی هست چه مسجد چه کشت

(کاکلی)

In fact, if the Sufi thinkers of India adhere to any religion, it is the religion of love. Indeed, they outwardly profess theological Islam as their religion : but their conception of Islam is different in many fundamental respects, from the conception of Muslim theologians. The Islam they profess to honour is more of their own creation than of the creation of the Qurān. All the formalities of Islam, its code of law (*shari'at*), its teachings and morals as inculcated by the doctors of Islam (*imāms*) have been set aside, and in their

places, they have installed their own formalities, laws, teachings and morals. They have interpreted the Qurān and the traditions ( *hadith* ) in their own light and thereby have made Islam a great theosophic religion of love only :

"My Islam (i. e. religion) is love : if thou be not a denier, see,

How (brightly) the light of my verification of this confession shines".(1)

Islam, the austere religion of the Semites, has thus been transformed into a religion of love by the Sufis of India. Therefore, they do not take him to be a true Muslim, whose Muslim defined fidelity to love for God and His creatures is not sufficiently proved. They unhesitatingly declare that only prayers, fastings, observances of laws and morals as signs of formal submission to God, do not give the identification of a man being a real Muslim unless he loves the Real in his heart of hearts :

"He, in whose heart there is no love for the Real,

Is not a Muslim, in spite of his too much submission to Him" (2)

(1) مسلمانى مرا عشقه اگر منکر نه بنکر

چگونه نور تصدیق ازین اقرارى تا یاد آید (2)

(2) کسی که نیست درون دلش محبت حق

اگر چه طاعت بپوشد کند مسلمان نیست

(حاکمى)

(3)

A true Muslim, in the Sufi sense of the term, does not care at all for heaven or hell. Neither the temptation of heaven, its cool gardens, its virgins and beautiful lads and divine meat and drink nor the fears of hell-fire can produce any appreciable effect in his love-intoxicated heart. What he cares for, is love. He carefully watches its gradual development, zealously guards it and solemnly follows its dictates. Union with his Beloved is the mission of his life, and to fulfil that unique mission, he cares for nothing—neither the pleasures and pains of this world, nor those of the next :

“O preacher ! the great lovers are not satisfied with thy temptation of heaven ;

For His vision, we are away from the garden of paradise and its guards.

Absorbed in His thought, we are away from paradise, its virgins and beautiful lads ;

And for the Beloved we are away from the pleasure of each of the two worlds”. (1)

### 9. Theory of Infusion (*Hulul*) :

This theory is one which early Islām condemned and regarded as wholly blasphemous. No Muslim thinker or writer tolerated it until after the advent of the eleventh century A. D. Manṣūr-ul-Hallaj (Execution—26th March, 922 A.D.) the famous Persian saint and Sufi, was mercilessly persecuted and finally executed for the advocacy of it. In course of time, votaries of this theory increased in number and gradually the Sufis of different countries began to support

(1) واعظاعشاق را خوش نیست ترغیب بهشت  
ما بدیدارش زیاغ خلد و رضوان فارغیم  
ما بفکرش از بهشت و حور و غلمان فارغیم  
از نعیم هر دو عالم بهر جانتان فارغیم -  
(چشتی)



it giving it a favourable explanation, different from that of the other Muslims.

However, we are not concerned with the early history of the theory, which is not connected with India. With the advent of the Sūfis of the twelfth century into India, this theory came to this country. At that time a glorious hallow was around it. People were attracted by this and they accepted it without question as Islāmic. Another cause of its popularity in India was no doubt the theory of "*avatār*" (i. e. incarnation of God in the form of man) which was a popular doctrine of Hinduism.

"*Hulūl*" has been derived from the Arabic root "*Halla*" meaning "to alight" or "settle in a place". From this, it generally means "infusion of divine spirit into a man". In the Indian Sūfistic sense, it means, "infusion of divine spirit into the body of a man, transforming him into a god in the form of a man". When the spirit of God alights on a Sūfi, he remains no more an ordinary man but becomes transubstantiated into God and declares "*Anā-'l-ḥaqq*" or "I am the Real". This utterance, which is nothing short of blasphemy in orthodox Islām, the Sūfi tolerates. A sort of spiritual superiority is generally attributed to him who can utter such a sentiment. Arguments are generally advanced in his favour with the explanation that he who utters such a seeming blasphemy, is not really blasphemous; for, it is not the utterance of a man of flesh and blood, but the utterance of the Real, through the man, i. e. the utterance of the Infinite through the finite.

From time to time, some of the Indian Sūfis uttered the famous, I mean notorious phrase of *Manṣūr*, while others hesitated to declare it. But what is to be marked here is this that they all felt a real tendency to and craving for the phrase "*Anā-'l-ḥaqq*" or "I am the Real". The beautiful picture of a wavering mind, as drawn by *Khawajah Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī* in the following lines, is really noteworthy and interesting :

'I do not declare, 'I am the Real', but my Comrade dictates,  
'declare;

When I do not declare, my sweetheart dictates to me, 'declare',  
 Whatever thou hast been telling me, thou orderest me every time  
 to keep it concealed;  
 I do not know why thou art telling me this time to divulge it.  
 What cannot be communicated to the ascetics even in their  
 monasteries;  
 Thou orderest me to declare fearlessly in the midst of a market.  
 To keep concealed the secret of Manṣūr is out of the limit of  
 a man like me;  
 When I do that the guillotine and gallows say, 'divulge'  
 I told Him, 'To whom I should communicate in the world,  
 the secret I possess;  
 (Then) He says,—'Say to the gate and wall' as there is no  
 confidante.' (1)

Such was the Sufi view regarding the proclamation of this idea in the early years of the introduction of Sufism into India. In course of time this tendency was transformed into direct proclamation, and many Sufis of India unequivocally declared the phrase of Manṣūr. But we hear of none who had been executed in India like Manṣūr. This clearly shows that this phrase was accepted by the Indian Muslims as a matter of course as one of the great Sufi doctrines that are not antagonistic

(1) من نمی گویم انا الحق یار میگوید بگو  
 چون نگویم چون مراد دار میگوید بگو  
 هر چه میگفتی بمن هر بار میگفتی بگو  
 من نمیدانم چرا این بار میگوید بگو  
 آنچه نتوان گفتن اندر صومعه بازاه دان  
 بے تعاشا بر سر بازار میگوید بگو  
 سر مشصوری نهان کردن نه حد چو منست  
 چون کنم هم ریسمان هم دار میگوید بگو  
 نفتمش رازیکه دارم با که گویم در جهان  
 نیست محرم بادر و دیوار میگوید بگو  
 (چشتی)

to Islamic principles. In all probability, being encouraged by such a favourable attitude to this phrase, a few Sūfis of India followed the suit of Maṣṣūr :

"I am the Real and truly the accumulator of His creation;  
I am the Essence and the attributes that follow (it)". (1)

Further in his "*mathnawī*" (collection of odes) *Shaykh Bahīlī* (d. 1575 A.D.) who belonged to the Qādirī order of darvishes devotes a few pages in praise of Maṣṣūr al-Hallāj, where he defends the saint in the following manner :

Maṣṣūr says :-

"I am not Maṣṣūr, and deem me not a Maṣṣūr ;  
Thou shalt not find me away from the path of unity of the Real ;  
But I am God, I am God and I am God ;  
I am away from dignity, malice and desire-  
My secret treasure has come to this body ;  
Secret of my eyes has come to this mystical formula". (2)

#### 10. Theory of this world and the next ( *dunyā wa 'uqbā* ) :

The attitude of the Indian Sūfis towards this world is an absolutely pessimistic one. To them, the world is an illusory reality—a reality of painful experiences. Though the world exists it will ultimately be destroyed. Hence no reliance should be

(1) أَنَا الْحَقُّ وَالتَّحْقِيقُ جَانِبٌ خَلَقَهُ

أَلَا الذَّاتُ وَالْوَصْفُ الَّذِي هُوَ تَابِعٌ

(عبد الكريم الجيلی)

(2) من نه منصورم تو منصورم مبین

از ره توحید حق دورم مبین

من خدایم من خدایم من خدا

فارغم از کبر و کین و از هوا

کنج پنهانم درین جسم آمده -

سر اعیانم درین اسم آمده

(شیخ بهلول)

placed on its reality. Only God is eternal (*bāqī*) and everything besides Him is evanescent (*fānī*). The pleasures that a man enjoys in his mundane life are but momentary and unreal, ultimately giving way to sorrow, affliction and pain. Therefore, our life is not meant for enjoyment. 'Eat, drink and be merry' should not be the goal of human life, the '*summum bonum*' of which is the realisation of the Reality (*al-haqq*).

The Sūfīs of India are extremists with respect to their connection with this world and the next. In their opinion there is no '*via media*' that can reconcile the two worlds. This world is a great bar to the realisation of the next one. Unless and until a man is entirely free from the bondage of this world, he cannot realise the next one. Therefore he should :

“Desolate the Kingdom of this world and inhabit that of  
the next ;

For, this mean world is itself not a place worthy of  
habitation”. (1)

#### 11. The Prophet and his place in Indian Sufism :

The Prophet occupies a peculiar position in Indian Sufism. The intermediary and intercessional functions of the Prophet have been usurped by the “*Shaykh*” or “*Murshid*” i.e. spiritual guide. However, when the question of the Prophet is raised, they cannot refuse him. They support him in theory and do many things in the name of “*shari‘at*” promulgated by the Prophet. The theoretical support of the Indian Sūfīs leads them to hold the view that the Prophet was the fountainhead not only of all theosophical knowledge but also of all creation. But this theory does not properly

(1) ملک دنیا ساز ویران ملک دین آباد کن  
زانکه این دنیا را ادون خود قابل آباد نیست  
(کافی)

fit in with other theories of the Sūfis of India ; yet they, being forced by odd circumstances, are obliged to advance The Prophet as this theory in order to please a section of the an incarnation. Muslims who would not otherwise be pleased to accept of God's light. the Sūfis as genuine Muslims. The theory of creation, as it has been attributed to the Prophet, may be explained in the following manner :

The Prophet is an incarnation of the light of God and the essence of the Prophet is the part of the essence of the Real :  
 (1) "In the essence of the Prophet there is light of the Real incarnated ;  
 Just as light of the moon is borrowed from the sun". (1)

Here, the Prophet has been identified with the Primal Light ; he is conceived as the first of God's creation. God created the universe, because he created the Prophet. Had it been the case that God did not create the Prophet, He would not surely create the universe. From the light of God, the Prophet was created and from the Prophet's light the whole creation came into being. This is the reason why the Indian Sūfis hold that the universe is nothing but the manifestation of the Prophet's light. Such a conception of the creation of universe led many Indian Sūfis to utter confusion. They could not fit in their former theories with this one and their attempt at this direction led some of them to believe that the Prophet and God were identical. (2) It is

(1) نور حقست آن مجسم گشته در ذات نبی  
 همچون نور ماه کز خورشید کرد است اکتساب  
 (چشتی)

- (2) Such tendency to identify of the Prophet with God was visible among the Sūfi writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These Sūfis mostly wrote in Urdu. One of the typical verses of these writers runs thus :—

ہمارے سرور عالم کا رتبہ کوئی کیا جانے  
 خدا سے ملنے چاہئے تو محمد کو خدا جانے

"None knows anything of the dignity of my chief of the world ;  
 To deem Muhammad as God is a necessary precedent to the union  
 with God"

amusing to note here that they sometimes argue in support of this theory in a manner that cannot be supported by any logic.

They say, God is called "*Aḥad*" or the One and His identification with God. In these two words "*Aḥmad*" and "*Aḥad*", the difference is the insertion of a letter only which is "M" i. e. "mīm". When this letter "mīm" is removed from the word "*Aḥmad*", it becomes "*Aḥad*". Putting forward such a queer argument, they indicate that the veil between God and Muḥammad is the veil of "mīm", otherwise God and Muḥammad are one and identical. This sort of idea is mystically expressed in the following quatrain of Sarmad :

"Whoever becomes friend of His reality,  
He becomes wider than the firmament and hidden  
like a pearl.

The Mullah says—"Aḥmad went to the sky"  
Sarmad says—"The sky went into Aḥmad".(1)

The position of the Prophet in Indian Şūfism is thus described. As he has been identified with God in some cases, the first duty of the Şūfis of India, is to unite with the Prophet.

In order to complete an union with him as a necessary precedent to the union with God, they have cleverly invented a Şūfistic stage, known as "*fanā fi-r-rasul*" or the absorption into the thought of the Prophet. Before their union with God, they long for the union with Muḥammad :

(1) هر کس که در حقیقتش یاور شد

او بهن تراز سپهر پنهان در شد

ملا گوید که در فلک شد احمد

سرمد گوید فلک به احمد در شد

(سرمد)

"We are bewailing nightingales in the garden of Aḥmad ;  
We are big and small pearls and our 'Ummān (1) is  
Muḥammad"(2)

Here we must leave the theoretical side of Indian Sūfiism. Their cardinal theories have been dealt with, and the minor ones have been left out due to the limited space at our disposal. Our present treatment of the subject will, we hope, be sufficient to follow the trend of development of Sūfiism in India.

(1) 'Ummān is the name of the gulf situated at the mouth of Persian gulf and east of Mascot. It is ever famous for the pearl fishery.

(2) ما بلبلیم نالان در گلستان احمد  
ما لولوئیم و مرجان عمان ما معید  
(چشتی)

## Chapter IV

### Beliefs and Practices of Indian Sūfis

We have already observed in the preceding pages that a complete union with God is the sole aim of the Indian Sūfis.

They preach to the people that everyone has the "Ṭarīqat" or capacity for the union with God, provided that he is willing to observe certain methodical practices and described technical observances and to believe in the efficacy of certain mystical formulae as preliminary preparations for an upward progress of the soul. This progress has always been described by the Sūfis in allegorical terms. They assume that a man is at a long distance from God and before the completion of the desired union, he is to cover this distance, generally described as "ṭarīqat" or path. The man, who aspires after the union with a firm determination to travel the distance, is known as the "sālik" or traveller.

This path which an aspirant must traverse has been divided into four distinct stages called "maqāmāt". These Description of maqāmāt (sing maqām) are sometimes known as "maqamat" or "manāzil" (sing manzil) or a day's journey. When stages, a "sālik" or traveller completes the journey of one stage (maqām or manzil), he is generally admitted to the next one. These four stages are the following :—

- (i) Nāsūt :— This is the stage of ordinary humanity, where the 'sh'arī'at' or the ecclesiastical canons of orthodox Islām are binding on the sālik or traveller. This may be described as the preparatory stage of a long journey ahead. The "sālik" prepares himself with fasting, prayer, charity and above all a full resignation to the Shaykh or spiritual guide. This stage is generally concerned with



'*ālam-i-Khalq* or the world of mankind and the formal *dhikr* or recitation of God's name, (e.g. what is prescribed for the "*sālik*" of this stage by the Qādiri order of darvishes is "*la ilāha illallāh*", i.e., there is no God but Allāh).

(ii) *Malkūt* :— This second stage is more concerned with the world of the spirit ( '*ālam-i-arwāḥ*. ) then with the world of matter. In this stage, the "*sālik*" cannot altogether cut off all his connections with the material world : but his soul attains such perfection as can enable him to communicate with the world of spirit ( *rūḥ* ). In reality, the proper journey of the "*sālik*" begins from this stage where the *ṭarīqat* or rules of mystic path is generally enforced on him and the "*dhikr*" of "*illallāh*" i. e. 'but Allāh' or 'only Allāh' is prescribed.

(iii) *Jabrūt* :— This third stage is the stage of names ( *asmā* ), attributes ( *ṣifāt* ) and glory ( *shān* ) of God. These three things fall, in the opinion of the Indian Sūfīs, in the category of attributes or "*ṣifāt*". Attributes and essence ( *dhāt* ) of God, being the two aspects of the one Real Being, are viewed here as two distinctly different manifestations of God and the realisation of the former is considered as the preliminary step to the realisation of the latter. Hence the assumption of this stage is regarded as the stage of realising the attributes. When the "*sālik*" realises the attributes, he attains "*m'arifah*" or gnosis. The association of "*m'arifah*" or gnosis with this stage, has given it the dignity of being called the stage of "*m'arifah*", where the "*dhikr*" of "Allāh" 'God' is required to be recited.

(iv) *Lahūt* :— This stage is the stage of divinity, where the "*sālik*" ends his journey, and attains the state of "*aḥdiyat*" or oneness with God. The desired union, for which the "*sālik*" was so long struggling hard, is consummated here, i.e. he attains the state of "*fanā fi-llāh*" or annihilation in God. In this stage, the "*sālik*"

realises God as the Real Being and hence, it is known as the stage of "*ḥaqīqat*". The mystic formula (ism) of "*ḥuwallāh*" i.e. "He is Allāh" is binding on the "*sālik*" for recitation as "*dhikr*"

The path is thus described by the Indian Sūfis. Just as a traveller requires a good guide when he sets out on an unknown journey, so also, here the "*sālik*" requires a perfect spiritual guide (*Kāmil murshīd*) for his intended journey to God, about which he knows but little. This spiritual guide is generally called a "*murshīd*" or a "*pīr*" or sometimes a "*shaykh*", and Practices in the "*sālik*" who places him under the guidance of connection with a "*pīr*" is known as "*murīd*" or disciple. "The "*pīr*" and practice of spiritual preceptorship, therefore, is known 'murīd' as "*pīrī-murīdī*", which has its counterpart in the '*guru-chelā*' relationship among the Hindus, and is very common throughout India. It is for the '*pīr*' to win the favour of men through his holy living or manifestation of the favour of God upon him, through some well attested '*Karāmāt*' such as miraculous healing or the revelation of hidden mysteries or secrets. Having won his reputation for piety, he begins to recruit disciples from men who voluntarily come to him. He then proceeds to initiate them into the religious fraternity by some simple ceremony, which includes the joining of hands and the pledging of devotion on the part of the '*murīd*' to the '*pīr*.'" After the completion of customary initiation, the "*murīd*" is said to have been taught by the "*pīr*" the art of making spiritual progress towards God. As a preliminary preparation for the purgation of "*murīd's*" soul, the "*pīr*" generally teaches him some mystical formulae or "ism"s required to be repeated for some fixed times during a day and a night. It is widely believed that such an act accompanied by an implicit faith on the direction of the "*murshīd*", ultimately brings the "*murīd*" on such a psychological state of mind where his soul is thoroughly cleansed of all impurities making him fit for divine meditation. After this, he is generally introduced to some technical processes and taught some mechanical practices as a means by which a "*sālik*" can make

rapid progress towards the goal. These processes and practices are of bewildering variety in India. Every darvish fraternity has its own particular processes and practices and we have elsewhere observed that due to these varieties, India has now so many sub-orders and orders of darvishes.

Among these numerous technical methods, by which God is generally believed to be realised, the most common one is "dhikr" or repetition of God's name. It is one of the best forms of devotional Sūfī practices, found all over India in all darvish orders and sub-orders. A "dhikr" is often performed by the help of "latifahs" or centres of light in the human body. So far as our knowledge goes, the idea of the "latifah"s was first promulgated by the Naqshbandī order of darvishes. Early books on Sūfism, such as *Kashf-u'l-Mahjūb* by Dattā Ganj Bakhsh and *Awārifu'l-M'aruf* by Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī etc. do not record any account of "latifah"s—a fact showing that the Sūfīs were not aware of this method of "dhikr", at least up to the close of the twelfth century A.D. It seems probable that this form of "dhikr" by the help of "latifah"s were imitated by other groups of Sūfīs from the Naqshbandīs. Though the Naqshbandī order was the youngest of all darvish orders introduced into India, it exerted a tremendous influence over all other existing orders of India. Probably for the sake of technical convenience and of placing a parallel method before the people of India, this new method of "dhikr" by the help of "latifah"s were gladly accepted by the rest of Indian darvish orders. There was already in Hindu Yoga something analogous in the doctrine of the "sat chakras" or six circles or Lotuses of psychic force. However, from the fifteenth century downwards, "dhikr" in India began to be performed quite in a methodical manner by the help of these "latifah"s.

"Latifah"s are but a few definite places in the human body, where the various kinds of "nūr" or light of God is said to descend during the time of "dhikr" and it is the duty of the "dhākir" or devotee to move these lights from one place to

another so that on some auspicious day he may be able to find his own body illuminated by the divine light. Description of It is further believed that the "*Latifah*"s that are "*latifah*"s. generally located in the physique of man, are mere representatives of real "*latifah*"s existing on the "*arsh*" or the throne of God and that they are the strategic places in human bodies, which, when properly guarded and cultivated the performance of "*dhikr*" as prescribed by the "*murshid*", can save the man from the evils of flesh (*nafs*) and lead him to the ultimate goal of union with God. "*Latifah*"s are enumerated to be ten in number inclusive of the "*arb'a 'unāsir*" or four elements (viz. earth, water fire and air) constituting the human body. Leaving aside the question of the four elements which are generally held to be unimportant, the number of important "*latifah*"s is six, viz. (i) "*Qalb*" or heart, (ii) "*Rūḥ*" or soul, (iii) "*Sirr*" or secret heart, (iv) "*Khafī*" or secret soul, (v) "*Akhfā*" or most secret soul, (vi) "*Nafs*" or evil self. It should be remembered here that the localisational principle of these "*latifah*"s does not conform to any modern physiological rules. These names are somewhat arbitrary and consequently our English renderings are similarly arbitrary. The following descriptions of "*latifah*"s are given by the different groups of Indian Sūfīs :

(i) *Qalb* or Heart :- This centre of light is pointed out to be under the left breast of a man or a woman. It resembles in shape any oval shaped bud of flower when it is inverted. It is said that this centre is under the feet of Adam and when it is properly cultivated, it turns into a location of the yellow light of God. Whoever attains the "*wilāyat*" or saintly rank of this "*latifah*", is called an "*Ādamī mashrab*" or the saint who drinks at the place of Adam.

(ii) *Rūḥ* or Soul :- This centre is situated beneath the right breast of a man or a woman, and possesses the capacity of receiving the red light of God. It is said to have been under the feet of two prophets, Noah and Abraham and consequently he who attains the "*wilāyat*"

of this "*laṭīfah*" is called either "*Nūhī*" or "*Ibrahīmī maṣhrab*" or the saint who drinks at the place of Noah or Abraham.

(iii) *Sirr* or Secret Heart :- It is situated a little below the *Qalb* or Heart to the direction of the middle of chest. This "*laṭīfah*" receives the white light of God and is under the feet of Moses. This is why the man who attains the "*wilāyat*" of this "*laṭīfah*" is known as the "*Musawī maṣhrab*" or the saint who drinks at the place of Mūsā.

(iv) *Khafī* or Secret Soul :- It is located a little below the *Rūh* or Soul to the direction of the middle of chest. This "*laṭīfah*" receives the black light of God and is under the feet of the prophet Jesus. Hence the man who attains the "*wilāyat*" of this "*laṭīfah*" is called the "*Isawī maṣhrab*" or the saint who drinks at the place of Isā.

(v) *Akhfā* or most Secret Soul :- This "*laṭīfah*" is just under the middle of chest. It lies under the feet of the prophet Muḥammad and the man who attains the "*wilāyat*" of this "*laṭīfah*" is known as the "*Muhammadi maṣhrab*" or the saint who drinks at the place of Muḥammad. It receives the green light of God.

(vi) *Nafs* or Evil Self :- This "*laṭīfah*" is pointed out to situate in two parts of the human body, viz. in the middle part of forehead between the two eye-brows or in the naval. The light of this "*laṭīfah*" has no colour, though it sometimes resembles mirage.

These are the six principal centres of light as described by the Sūfis of India. The Qādirī order of Indian dāryishes are not satisfied with the number of these "*laṭīfah*"s centres. They add four others to the existing number. The name and location of these additional "*laṭīfah*"s are as follows :-

1. *Dil Mudawwarī* or Circular Mind, is in the head.
2. *Dil Nīlūfarī* or Mind of Blue Lotus, is in the middle part of the two groins.

3. *Dil Sanawwarī* ; Mind of the pine-tree is beneath the left breast.

4. *Dil 'Anbarī* or Mind of ambergris, is under the right breast.

*Dhikr* is of two kinds, viz. "*Jali*" or that which is repeated loudly and "*Khafi*" or that which is repeated secretly. The "*Jali*, kind of *Dhikr*" is generally preferred by all orders of Indian darvishes except those belonging to the Naqshbandī order. Some mystic formulae in Arabic are recited at the time of its secret or loud performance. It should be noted

here that in the whole history of "*Dhikr*" in India, Shaykh Farīdu'-d-Dīn Shāhrganj (d. 1269 A. D.) introduced for the first time the mystic formula for "*Dhikr*" couched in Indian vernacular language. On certain occasions, he used to recite the Panjabi formula of "*Tū hi tū*" or "Thou art Thyself" as a substitute for the Arabic formula "*Huwallāh*" or 'he is Allāh'. Instances of reciting formulae in the vernacular language are not very rare among the Indian darvishes of succeeding generations. However, a *Dhikr* may either be practised alone or congregationally. When it is performed alone, it generally requires no definite day or place; but when it is done congregationally, a particular day (such as Thursday evening) and a fixed place for congregation are necessary. In some orders, such as Chishtī and Suhrawardī, a "*Dhikr*" is performed in accompaniment with music, while in others no music is allowed at the time of "*Dhikr*".

"*Dam*" or breath plays an important part in all forms of "*Dhikr*", which are directly connected with "*laṭīfah*"s. When a "*Dhikr*" is begun from a "*laṭīfah*", inhalations and exhalations are very carefully watched and definitely regulated.

Place of "*dam*" The duration of time in inhalation is generally tried to be lengthened so that the "*Dhikr*" or the reciter may increase the number of repeating the mystic formula (ism) taught by his "*murshid*". In course of time the "*Dhikr*" is so habituated in controlling the breath that he can hold the breath in his stomach for hours, days, even months together. In this way when the breath is held in the stomach and the

"*Dhākir*" goes on performing "*Dhikr*" in the state of breath being shut up, it is then called the state of "*ḥabs-i-dam*" or holding of breath. Though "*dhikr*" may be performed in all times, all places and all states of breath, yet an unusual importance is given on the state of "*ḥabs-i-dam*".

It is really curious to know the methods, by which the "*laṭīfah*"s are generally employed at the time of practising "*jalī*" or "*khafī*" kinds of "*dhikr*". It should be mentioned here that only two formulae are used in such "*dhikr*" and they are called "*ism-i-dhāt*" or original name of God, i.e. Allah and "*naṣī-i-ithbāt*" negation of affirmation, i.e. "*lā ilāha illāllāh*", the employment of "*laṭīfah*s". During the time of employing "*laṭīfah*s" in the performance of "*dhikr*", these two formulae are equally cited ; but the formula of "*ism-i-dhāt*" is generally employed in the preliminary stage, while the other formula is used in an advanced stage. During the employment of each of the six important "*laṭīfah*"s, as an instrument of "*dhikr*", the methods that are commonly adopted are too many to enumerate here. For the formation of a rough idea of these methods, we like to describe below one of the most popular methods :

The method by which the formula of "*naṣī-i-ithbāt*" i.e. "*lā ilāha illāllāh*" is used in the employment of "*laṭīfah-i-qalb*" is as follows : holding the breath in the stomach, the syllable "*lā*" should be drawn up along with the drawing of breath, till it reaches the back side of head in accompaniment with its (the head's), leftward movement, and then in the protracted state of breath, the word "*ilāha*" should be uttered with energy just on the moment the head, in course of its leftward turning, reaches the right shoulder ; after this the words "*illāllāh*" should be pronounced in that protracted condition of breath in such a way that the breath passing over the "*laṭīfah-i-sirr*" the "*laṭīfah-i-khafī*" and the "*laṭīfah-i-Akhfā*" may reach its last destination "*Qalb*", where the protracted breath should be let out with great energy.

In the above description it should be marked that there is a systematic method in 'drawing and letting out the breath ; and it should be further pointed out that there are stages where a new part of the formula is necessary to be uttered with energy. The stage where a new part of the formula is generally pronounced with energy, is technically called a "*ḍarb*" or a blow. The blows are given on that part of the body where the protracted breath is made to halt. They are given with great difficulty and pain, so much so that even during the winter season the "*dhākir*" perspires profusely.

Besides these customary "*dhikr*"s, there is another kind of "*dhikr*", called "*dhikr-i-rābiṭah*" or repetition of God's name through a medium. The formulae recited in this form of "*dhikr*" are not different from the customary "*dhikr*" mentioned just now ; but the aims of these two kinds of "*dhikr*" are different. The aim of customary "*dhikr*" is to awake or to cultivate the "*latīfah*"s so that they may easily receive the various lights of God, while the aim of "*dhikr-i-rābiṭah*" is to reach the stage of "*fanā fī-sh-shaykh*" or self-annihilation in the spiritual guide. It should be mentioned here that the Indian darvishes understand a visualised image of *Murshid* by the word, "*rābiṭah*" (lit. means 'a medium') in its technical sense. They constantly visualise the image of their *murshid* and through the medium of that image perform *dhikr*. They argue that a *murīd* is generally unable to control his mind. Since God has no definite form, a man cannot all at once fix his mind on Him during the period of apprenticeship ; so he requires something tangible for the proper control of his mind, and unless the mind is completely controlled, it is not fit for "*dhikr*". Hence, to a "*murīd*", the visualised image of his "*murshid*" is indispensably necessary on the ground that, as it is a concrete something on which a mind can be fixed, it works as an instrument to the concentration of all thoughts to one single point. In this way when the mind of the "*murīd*" is con-



trollably directed to the constant visualisation of "*murshid's* image, he performs "*dhikr*" in a state of total self-forgetfulness and self-identification with his "*pīr*". This state of a "*murīd*" is called the state of "*fanā fī-sh-shaykh*", or self-annihilation in the spiritual guide. In the opinion of the Indian darvishes, it is a step forward towards the state of "*fanā-fillāh*" or self-annihilation in God.

There is another singular kind of "*dhikr*" called "*sulṭānu'l-adhkār*" or the king of '*dhikr*' or the "mighty "*Sulṭānu'l-adhkār*" or is very efficacious for the "*dhākir*" to consummate his union with God within a comparatively short period. The process, followed for the performance of this "*dhikr*", has been described thus : Either at the dead of night the "*sālik*" should retire to a dark closet (*hujrah*), or during the day time, he should repair to a lonely place (e. g. a jungle) far away from the human habitations where he would sit in a squatting posture, placing the two elbows on the two corresponding knees, shutting up completely the two orifices of ears by the tip of two thumbs, drawing the two forefingers near the eye-lids, completely shutting the eyes and stopping the mouth by the little and ring fingers of the two hands, so that no breath can come out through the mouth ; after this he should shut the left nostril first by the middle finger of the left hand and draw the breath through the right nostril in accompaniment with the recitation "*lā ilāha*" and then shut the right nostril first by the middle finger of the right hand. Protracting the breath by this method he should practise "*dhikr*" continually till he let out the protracted breath together with the recitation of "*illallāh*".

In addition to the forms of "*dhikr*", already mentioned, there are three others, which are in more common use and are known as "*tasbīḥ*", "*taḥmīd*" and "*takbīr*". They are used as exclamations of joy and surprise as well and for the devotional exercise of "*dhikr*".

“*Tasbīḥ*” is the expression “*subḥān Allāh*” i. e. holiness be to God

“*Tahmīd*” is “*alḥamdu lillāh*” i. e. praise be to God.

“*Takbīr*” is “*Allāhu akbar*” i. e. “God is great”

Let us now take up the case of “*murāqibah*” or divine contemplation. After the performance of “*dhikr*”, the “*sālik*” sits in some definite posture drooping his head downwards and begins to wait for the descension of God’s light on his “*latifah*”s.

He contemplates all the time on the light of God “*Murāqibah*” and forgets everything even his own self. “*Murāqibah*” is sometime accompanied by the meditation on some special verses of the Qurān, which vary according to the different orders.

“*Murāqibah*” is performed in many ways. According to various methods adopted for the performance of “*Murāqibah*” it has received many names. In whatever name it is done, its ultimate aim is, so far as we can understand, nothing but absorption of one’s thoughts in God. By way of an illustration, we note below two methods of performing “*Murāqibah*”—the former one belonging to the Qādirī order, while the latter one to the darvishes of Chishtī order :

(a) Sitting as at prayer, the “*Sālik*” shuts his two eyes, directs all his attention to the heart along with the thought that golden light of God belonging to His “*tawḥīd-i-Murāqibah-i-i-af’āli*” or fundamental unity in action, is descending on his heart. In this way, when the “*Sālik*” goes on meditating for sometime, he observes nothing but the said light of God profusely descending on him and he will feel in the heart of hearts one and only one God in his multiferious actions that are apparently seen. This kind of “*Murāqibah*” is called “*Murāqibah-i-tawḥīd*” or meditation of unity.

(b) Sitting in meditative mood, the “*sālik*” takes the different phenomena to be the various manifestations of God’s attributes and glory. When this conception with regard to “*Murāqibah-i-mi’raju-l-‘ārifīn*” creations (i. e. phenomena) is completely formed, he conceives of the innumerable phenomena as the single creation and manifestation of the attributive God, whom he sees through that single manifestation.

After this he thinks that his own essence (*dhāt*) pervades the whole universe which is existing nowhere but in him. Due to this reason, he now sees God manifested in him; for, he now represents the universe in which God manifests Him. In the next step of this progressive meditation, he totally forgets his self and sees God and God only. This kind of “*Murāqibah*” is known as “*murāqibah-i-mi’raju-l-‘ārifīn*” or dignified meditation of gnostics.

In this connection, another important practice, viz. the practice of “*Kashfu-l-qubūr*” or an opening of the graves, should be noted. This practice is generally performed by The practice of *Chishtiah* order of darvishes, and most probably “*Kashfu-l-qubūr*” from them it was adopted by the other orders of Indian saints. However in the circle of Indian darvishes, there is a firm belief that conditions of the dead, buried even hundreds of years ago, can be revealed; and that from them, spiritual benefit of a superior nature can be derived by the possessor of peculiar psychic power after he has acquired and developed it by a long and regular training consisting of continuous prayer and recitation of definite Qur’ānic verses and mystic formulae couched in the Arabic language. The method generally followed is this :

The man, desirous of deriving benefit from the saintly dead man, enters a grave yard and first performs a short prayer. Then he approaches the definite grave, in which the saint from whom he desires to derive spiritual benefit was interred, and sits as at prayer to the right side of the dead man placing the grave in front of him, and then mutters a few verses of the Qur’ān and some particular mystic formulae. After this, he again begins to

approach the grave more and more till he reaches the grave and mutters certain mystic formulae looking towards the sky now and then as if he is awaiting for something from heaven. In this way, he comes to know the condition of the dead and derives spiritual benefit from them.

The darvishes of India and through their agency, the ordinary Muslim folk, believe that there 'exists an invisible hierarchy on which the order of the world is thought to depend'.

It is said that, when any irregularity or disorder takes place in the machinery of this hierarchy or hierarchy. if any of the members of this by chance neglects to discharge his own allotted duty, there occurs all of a sudden certain untoward happenings, for which the member in charge is held responsible to the highest authority of the hierarchy, the *Qutb* or Axis. The following brief account will give the readers a rough idea of this saintly hierarchy. Our present account is not, we admit, all-embracing and satisfactory due to the reason that in pointing out the ranks of this hierarchy, darvishes differ in opinion from one another. However, we like to point out the names of a few ranks and duties allotted for them, in ascending order :

1. The *mu'min* or a believer is in the ordinary level of humanity. He believes in God, His apostles, His angels, His revelations and His Saints. He performs the ordinary duties of life and craves in words and deeds for the good of his fellowmen.

2. The '*Ābid* or worshipper : This is the function to be done in regular worship, fast, prayer, piety and asceticism. Voluntary good service to humanity without a hope of any return in exchange is one of the best duties of this function. Due to this reason, this function is sometimes known as the function of *Ākhyār* or goodness.

3. The *zāhid* or ascetic : This is the continuation of the previous function in its perfect stage and a preliminary stage of the next function. In this state of sainthood, the "*Zāhid*". ascetic becomes totally purged of all worldly attachments and retires to a closet (*hujrah*) for deep meditation on God and His mysteries. He shuns the company of people and becomes a recluse ; but prays for the good of humanity.

4. The "*Abdāl*" or substitute : Here is the function of a man who can fathom the mysteries of God and realise Him in the heart of hearts. Hence he is sometimes called an "*Ārif*" or gnostic. He is called a 'substitute' "*Abdāl*". probably because he substitutes divine nature in place of human nature, and a 'gnostic' because he can realise God.

5. The "*walī*" or saint : When a man is promoted to this rank, he is not satisfied with the realisation of God only. He is now a friend to Him, and can ask Him for a grant of miracles of minor character. "*Walī*" This boon is generally granted to him and with the performance of that, he guides man to the right path.

6. The "*quṭb*" or axis : This is the highest rank in the darvish hierarchy. The most eminent and august Sūfī of the age is generally called a "*quṭb*". He believed to be endowed with impossible supernatural powers generally called "*Karāmāt*" or miracles. He invisibly presides "*Quṭb*" over a periodical parliament of his hierarchy, members of which are not hampered by the limitations of time and space. The power of annihilating time and space is said to be granted to them by the "*quṭb*".

The "*Karāmāt*" (plu. of *Karāmat*) or miracles, that are attributed to Indian saints and darvishes, are too numerous to enumerate. They include for instance, 'walking on water, flying

in the air ( with or without a passenger ), rain-making, appearing in various places at the same time, healing by the breath, bringing the dead to life, knowledge and prediction of future events, thought reading, telekinesis, turning earth into gold or precious stones, producing food and drink, etc'. Besides these, thaumaturgic treatment of incurable and complicated diseases is one of the most characteristic, "*Karāmāt*" or miracles of many darvishes of this country. Herbs, water, amulets and the outward application or inward administration of many other insignificant things, the property of which is quite unknown to any medical science, are the means of their thaumaturgic treatment.

Besides these important beliefs and practices of the Indian Ṣūfīs, there are many others of minor importance and individualistic nature. Both space and necessity do not permit us to notice them here. Those who like to study the subject in detail, should turn their attention to the original books on the present subject. The following books may, however, be consulted with profit :-

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Al-Qawlu-'l-Jamīl*—*Shāh Walī Allāh Mahaddith Dehlwī*.
2. *M'amulāt-i-Muzhariyah*—*Mirzā Mazhar Jān Jānān*.
3. *Irshād-i-Khālīqiyah*-( Bengali )—*'Abdu-'l-Karīm of Jessore*.
4. *Sirāju-'l-Bārī*—*Qāḍī 'Abdu-'l-Bārī, Calcutta*.
5. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind*—*Mirzā Md. Akhtār Dehlwī*.
6. *Musliku-'s-Sālikīn* (Urdu)—*Mirzā Md. 'Abdu-'s-Sattār Beg*.
7. *Sind and its Sufis*—*Jethmal Parsram Gulraj, Madras 1924*.
8. *Mystics of Islam*—*R.A. Nicholson*.
9. *Studies in Tasawwuf*—*Khājā Khān, Madras, 1923*.
10. *Indian Islam*—*M.T. Titus, Ph. D, D.D. Oxford University Press 1930*.
11. *Dictionary of Islam*. T. P. Hughes ( 2nd. Ed. 1896 )

## Chapter V

### Indian influence on Şūfiism

#### Introduction :

An elaborate and impartial critical study of Indian Şūfiism is a somewhat very difficult task, and this is due to more reasons than one. First of all, there is no satisfactory prose literature on Indian Şūfiism, that can be referred to in this connection (i. e. for critical study), such as existed in other countries outside India. A few fragmentary prose works, most of which are of an epistolary nature and do not furnish us with any full and systematic idea of the various systems of Indian Şūfi thought, have indeed come to our hands ; but unfortunately they are not very useful for our present purpose, only a faint glimpse of the thought developed in certain darvish fraternities can be had from them. Secondly, the innumerable treatises on Indian Şūfiism only treat of the beliefs and practices, as recorded in the foregoing chapter of this book. Most of these treatises are either completely silent on the theoretical side or speak of it in a running and desultory manner. They have, as if carefully, avoided the history of the growth and development of new thoughts and ideas, practices and beliefs. The theoretical portions of the treatises which they cared to record, are generally based on the Şūfi theories enunciated by the Şūfis of other countries than India. A systematic study of Şūfi poetry composed by the Şūfis of India, in the subsequent ages, clearly shows ( and it has already been shown in one of the previous chapters of this book ) that those theories were not practically followed by the Indian Şūfis who added to and subtracted from them many things according to their predilections

or to new development. This is the only justification that we can adduce for a separate treatment of Indian ṢŪfī theories, mainly basing on the poetry composed by the ṢŪfīs of India. Poetry is the faithful mirror of Indian as well as other ṢŪfī minds. It is the production of an ecstatic moment, when the ṢŪfīs are generally at the zenith of their experience of mystic life. Mystic philosophical utterances of that privileged moment should bear a heavier weight than those recorded in prose during the leisurely speculative hours of existence. This is the reason why we have given a preference to ṢŪfī poetry of India to prose treatises on the subject. Thirdly there are a few treatises on Indian ṢŪfīsm, which otherwise might have been very useful for our present purpose, had there been no endeavour on the part of their authors for a compromise with the orthodox school of Islāmīc thought. These treatises start with the notion (which is natural enough under the circumstances) that ṢŪfīsm in India is not a departure from the orthodox school. These authors have tried their best to establish a link between "*Shari'at*" or ecclesiastical canons of Islām and *Tāṣawwuf* or ṢŪfīsm such as they practised by profuse quotations from the Qurān as well as "*ḥadīth*" (Islāmīc traditions of the Prophet) in support of the latter. These quotations were often twisted quite illogically to suit their conclusions, and here and there tampered with, as in the case of "*ḥadīth*." Such treatises are but misleading and cannot and should never be used as materials for the present study of the subject. Fourthly, more fanatical persons or groups among the Muslims of India do not like to hear anything that may go against their cherished notions about even a part of their creed (notions which themselves may be inaccurate and unhistorical), or that avows an allegiance to it. They shudder to entertain the idea that the religion, they profess has the possibility of being ever changed from its primal state, or that those who avow an allegiance to it, may have something non-Islāmīc. Such a superstitious adherence to their creed and all that has a connection with it, has of late, been the cause of some extremely unhappy incidents from which



a cautious man cannot but take a lesson for observing silence on such matters. These are the real difficulties one is bound to overcome, at the time when he intends to examine Indian Islām with the eye of an impartial critic.

We have already remarked that the poetry composed by the Sūfis of India is the real mirror of their heart. It really records the currents and under-currents, developments and deteriorations and above all the extent and limit of Indian Sūfiism. Though a crude and superstitious mind shows itself here and there, yet sympathetic study of the Sūfī poetry of India leaves no room for doubt that the poets gradually built up an elaborate short appreciation system of thought which was slowly perfected and of the Indian systematised. It was not the product of brain, as Sūfī poetry it was the case with poetry of poets possessing a deeply brooding philosophic bent of mind. In it charming and extremely loving heart, rather effeminate, seems to triumph over the speculative brain. The exquisite freshness and charm which this poetry possess are the rare gifts of the Aryan mind and the wonderfully picturesque Indian landscape. The imaginative nature of the Indo-Aryan mind of which this poetry was an expression, gave a lyric charm to it which never fails to touch the finer chord of the human heart. In spite of its being the literature of a small group of a few selected persons, it is universal in nature in this sense. The fine air of toleration that it breathes from every word, invites all and sundry to gather around it, and drink that divine wine of love that can intoxicate them to open the gate of heart to all creatures of God. What the Sūfis never felt and experienced in ordinary human life, they never expressed in language. Their poetical literature is "the result of direct experience they dug it out from their own being; the experiences being almost the same, have resolved themselves into a system that is well-nigh perfect, even as the flawless Vedantic system of Sankaracharya".<sup>1</sup>

It is more than an axiomatic truth that Indian Sūfiism underwent a great change. No expansive system of thought

1. *Sind and Its Sufis*, pp. 104-105.

remain unchanged for centuries. In the history of an evolution of all thoughts, change is one of the leading factors that give it either perfection or imperfection. ṢŪfism too was not an exception. When it was introduced into India from Persia

Bukhārā and Samarqand, it was already under a  
A few departures direct Indian influence. With the infiltration through of Indian ṢŪfīs centuries, it grew gradually bigger by the accretions from "Shari'at". of many new developments, owing to which it

differed so widely from the orthodox Islāmic conceptions that both of them seem to be poles apart. It is not our intention here to compare the Indian ṢŪfī system of thought with the orthodox Islāmic system. Yet for the sake of illustration, we like to point out one or two differences here. Besides, it will be of some help to those who like to have a general idea of the trend and nature of these vital differences. Take for instance the theory of "tawḥīd" or divine unity of the Indian ṢŪfīs, and compare it with the orthodox conception of Islāmic "tawḥīd". What do you find in these two conceptions of practically the same thing? Does not the full-fledged pantheistic conception of the former boldly confront in an aggressive manner the strong monotheistic conception of the latter? We all know, the belief in the doctrine of "tawḥīd" is one of the most fundamental beliefs in Islām, without which, Islām cannot stand for a moment, as the whole fabric of this religion is based on this doctrine. Islām has started with the axiom that God (Allāh) is one and absolutely one. It declares with all the emphasis that it can command, that there is absolute Unity in Divine nature; it admits of no participation or manifoldness. It denies all plurality of persons in Godhead and any participation of any being in the affairs of the world. In place of such a strong conception of Islāmic "tawḥīd", Indian ṢŪfīs supply a loose pantheistic conception which no-Muslim of puritanic spirit can accept. They preach the immanent unity of God with a bold declaration that through the diverse phenomena of this universe which is the place of His manifestation (*Mazhar*), one God is manifesting Himself in various ways. In other words, they conceive

of the unity of God in the plurality of phenomena. God is not apart from the universe : it is in Him and He too is in it. Is not such a conception of "*tawḥīd*" different from the Islāmic one ?

Let us take up the case of Indian Ṣūfī doctrine of soul (*rūḥ*) for further illustration. We have already seen, how a section of the Indian Ṣūfis twist the meaning of the Qūrānic verse in support of their own theory. Orthodox Muslims hold the view that a soul is created out of the Divine Soul and though it is pure and eternal in nature, it becomes impure after its touch with the body. Hence, a soul is subject to punishment. It will ultimately return unto God but will not merge in Him. "Illīn" and "Sijjīn" are the two places where the departed soul will live on till the Day of Resurrection (*ruḥ-i-qayāmat* or *yawmu-l-qayāmat*) for the final decree of God on its punishment or reward, as the case may be, in accordance with the good or evil deeds (*ḥasanāt* or *Kharābāt*) done in its mundane life. But what do the Ṣūfis of India say about it? They deny the creation of soul altogether, hold the view of its being the part of Divine Soul and its ultimate unitary union with Him. The act of union with Divine Soul is not only completed after a man's death, but also his soul can be united with the Divine Soul even before his death, if he wishes and tries his best to develop the power of his soul. This stage of union in the life-time of a man is known as the stage of "*fanā*" or self-annihilation or "*baqā*" or abiding in God.

It is needless to cite the case of the doctrine of "*ḥulūl*" or divine infusion. From the beginning of its conception, it has been declared heretical and polytheistic by the doctors of Islām.<sup>1</sup> When this doctrine entered India with the advent of the early Ṣūfis, it found favour in this country. Indian Ṣūfis supported it by subtle interpretation of their own, due to reasons other than Islāmic ones.

The position of the Prophet is somewhat awkward in Islām of the Indian Ṣūfis. We have mentioned before that they claim a direct relation with God. There is no question that the Prophet has fallen in the background owing to this direct relation.

1. vide *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article "*ḥulūl*".

Indian Ṣūfīs certainly admit the prophethood of Muḥammad, but from the practical point of view, his position is not so glorious and exalted to them as that of a "*murshīd*" or a "*pīr*." However much a direct relation they establish between God and man, they cannot do away with the idea of an intermediary like "*murshīd*" who has practically usurped the intermediary and intercessionary functions of the Prophet, which the orthodox Muslims so loudly preach. The Prophet thus being deprived of these two important functions, has really been reduced to a mere figurehead only to hoodwink the orthodox.

We need not proceed further. These glaring illustrations will conclusively prove that Ṣūfīism, as advocated by the Indian darvishes, is far different from Islām preached by the theologians. What is the difference? Excepting these departures only a few among them the Indian Ṣūfīs mostly accounted. adhere to the creeds of Islām avowedly. They neither denounce Islām, nor discard its main principle ; yet they differ with the theologians of Islām. What is the reason ? The Ṣūfīistic interpretation of Islām may be characterised as an Aryan explanation of Islām, while its theological explanation is the interpretation of the Arab or Semitic mind. This point requires some elucidation. The great religions of the world may be divided into two classes—the Semitic ( Judaism, Christianity and Islām ) and the Aryan (Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism ). Broadly speaking, the Semitic religions give more importance to the ethical, and the Aryan religions the metaphysical aspect of faith.

Now, after the Arab conquest of Persia ( and let us add, Bukhārā, Samarqand, Afghānistān and India ) the Persians ( and let us again add, Bukhārians, Samarqandians, Afghāns and Indians ) naturally interpreted the new faith in the light of their existing metaphysical conceptions, which they largely shared with the Hindus. One of the most important of these was the 'Idea of Incarnation', the appearance of the Supreme Being in a human form. Every religion has felt the necessity of finding some means of intercourse between the real and the sensible world. In Islām, the angel Gabriel brings the message of the world to the other. Aryan religions

explain it by a series of incarnations by which the Creator comes to teach the law to the created.<sup>1</sup>

Another Indo-Aryan doctrine was 'Monism'—the belief which regarded all existence as the emanation of one Being and all change as the evidence of a Cosmic Purpose. As to the Semitic conception of law as an external command, the Aryans had opposed the belief that law was an inner aspiration of the soul itself. What is known as "*Taṣawwuf*" (Muslim mysticism) in Islām may be interpreted in the light of Indo-Persian Monism, in which God ceases to be a Being external to the individual and law is no longer a command imposed from without. Muslim mystics have always claimed that their doctrines are based on the Qur'ān and rightly so, however unpalatable such a confession may appear to those who imagine that a religion can long exist without developing a system of metaphysics. But the contention of the Muslim mystics is quite compatible with the fact that the development of mysticism in Islām was the work of Persian thinkers who were steeped in the doctrine of Monism; and that in its mature form, the teachings of "*Taṣawwuf*" are broadly the same as the philosophy of the Neo-Platonists and the Upanishads. Thus, Islām interpreted in the light of Aryan Monism, led to "*Taṣawwuf*", the finest achievement of Indo-Persian genius in the realm of thought.

Besides, this general influence of the Aryan mind on the Semitic creed, Islām was never free from the influence of India. From the very inception of Islām, it was in a regular Indian environment by way of commercial relations, intellectual intercourse, expansion of Islāmic empire and colonization. Scholars of wide renown and of different countries, have proved this fact very satisfactorily by their valuable contributions to this

1. The doctrine of incarnation in "*Taṣawwuf*" is known as the doctrine of *ḥulūl* or divine infusion. The originator of the theory of "*ḥulūl*" is Maṣṣūr Hallāj (Ex. 922 A. D.) of Persia. He was the first man who declared, the spirit of God was alighted on him and had thus made him a God.

aspect of Islām and we need not enter here into detail. The result of these contributions are briefly summarized below :

A. "The contact of the Muslim world with India were definite and well-established even before the tenth century".<sup>1</sup>  
 Commercial Arabia, the home of Islām, developed a maritime relations. activity from the eighth century A. D. and hence-forward commerce between India and Europe, was practically in the hands of the Arabs. Indian commodities of spices, ivory and gems were the objects eagerly sought by the Arab merchants and traders who used to sail along the western coast of India with the intention of establishing new trading centres, such as Surāt and Malābar, where Arab colonies were, within a century, established.

B. Intellectual intercourse between India and Arabia has a very early history. With the rise of Islām, Arabia built up her own new civilisation, known as Saracenic, the foundation of which was not laid on a completely new ground. She used many available materials of other ancient civilisations and culture, such as Egyptian, Syrian, Greek, and Persian, in building up her own. During the palmy days of Saracenic civilisation, the Arabs did not hesitate to establish intellectual intercourse with Bukhārā, Samargand and India. The fame of ancient Aryan civilisation of India was ever known to the Arabs. The earliest literary information that can be gathered now in connection with this is the two beautiful lines

1. Titus, M.T., *op. cit.*, P. 147.

of Arabic poetry which flourished before Islām.<sup>1</sup> The two lines contain the word "*Muhannad*" or the Indian sword, which was then famous in Arabia for its superiority over all kinds of sword known to the Arabs. This conclusively proves that Indian products like steel and swords, were known to the Arabs as early as the sixth century A.D. As time went on, their knowledge about India began to be clearer as a result of the closer relation with the country. The chief factors of this relation are the following :

(a) The presence of itinerant Indian monks in Mesopotamia and Syria, is one of the leading factors that made the relation between India and Arabia much closer. "As

(a) early as the time of the 'Abbasides in Mesopotamia Indian monks, these monks were a factor of practical importance to the adherence of Islām. Jāhiz (d.866A.D.) pictures very graphically the wandering monks, who could have belonged neither to Christianity nor to Islām. He calls them 'Zindiq

1. These two lines occur in two famous poems of Arabic literature, viz. in the "*Mu'allaqah*" by Antara and in the "*Qasidatu'l-Burdah*" by Ka'b-bin-Zuhayr. They are as follows :

"*Mu'allaqah*. V. 57".

فَطَعْنَتْهُ بِالسِّمِيطِ الْهِنْدِيِّ صَافِيٍّ  
عَلَوْتُهُ بِمِهْنَدٍ صَافِيٍّ الْحَدِيدِ مَجْدَمٍ

Translation :—

"Then I fixed him with my lance : I struck him to the heart with an Indian Scimitar the blade of which was very sharp".

*Qasidatu-'l-Burdah* V. 52.

إِنَّ الرُّسُولَ لَنُورٍ يَسْتَضَاءُ بِهِ  
مِهْنَدٌ مِنْ سَيْفِ اللَّهِ مَسْلُوكٍ

Translation :—

"Verily the Prophet is the light ( of God ) from which receives the brightness —

The drawn out Indian scimitar among the swords of Allah".

monks', an ambiguous appellation, which nevertheless, cannot be limited simply to Manichæan.<sup>1</sup> That these Zindiq monks had been either Indian *Sādhus* or Buddhist monks or men imbued with their ideas and examples, is conclusively proved by the learned author cited above.

Besides this, Buddhism exerted a great influence on Islām from other places than Mesopotamia and Syria. Bukhārā, Samarqand, Turkistān and Afghānistān were the chief places, mainly responsible for the propagation of Islām and Sūfiism in India.

This is why the Indian Muslim cherish a very lofty idea about the Muslims and saints of these countries. Before the Muhammedan conquest of

India, these countries were culturally and at times politically a part of India. The boundary of the Kushan Empire, during the time of Kanishka (78 A.D. enthronement), the great patron of Buddhism, extended up to Bukhārā, Samarqand, and Turkistān. We hear of flourishing Buddhist monasteries in Balkh, the metropolis of ancient Bactria, a city famous for the number of Sūfis who resided in it.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that the commonest Persian word for "image"—the word *But* is a relic of Buddhist influence in Afghānistān and Persia where Buddha images were common, and any image came to be known as a Buddha, i. e. a *Bud* or *But*.

B. Translations of Indian books on different branches of learning, such as the fiction, philosophy, astronomy, astrology and other sciences, was another important factor that brought the intellectual region of the Arabs to the realm of Indian intellect.

India being one of the most civilised and cultured Transation of Indian countries of the ancient world, was known to the books to Arabic. Arabs from the very inception of Islām. During the Abbasid period beginning from the middle of the eighth century A. D., the whole range of ancient intellect

1. *Muhammad and Islam*—Ignas Goldziher (Tr. from Ger. by Kate Chambers Seelye), pp. 172-173.

2. *Mystics of Islam* R. A. Nicholson p. 17 ; *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*—Muhammad Hābil (Aligarh, 1927) page 13 and Foot-note



was ransacked by the scholars of Islām through the translation of foreign books into Arabic. Under the liberal patronage of the Caliphs like Maṣṣūr (A. D. 754-775), Harūn, the Orthodox (A.D.786-809) and Mamūn, the Great (A.D. 813-833), translation works were continuously carried on to add to the knowledge and intellect of the Saracens. Like other stores of knowledge, Indian ones were not neglected during this time.

Translations of Indian books were done chiefly through two media, viz. from Pahlavi or ancient Persian into which Indian books were translated from an early time, and directly from Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindus. It should be remembered here that these translations were widely read only in the highly cultivated circles which were open to all sorts of moral and religious views. "Among these translations of Indian books that became embodied in the Arabic literature, we find an Buddhist History. Arabic version of the Balauhar wa Budāsāf (Barlam and Josaphat) and also a Budd-book".<sup>1</sup> The book *Balauhar wa Budāsāf* contains 'the story of the conversion of an Indian prince Josaphat by the ascetic Barlaam' and the Budd-book, as its name implies, contains the teachings and doctrines of Buddha.

Among the translations of Indian fiction, the name of *Panchatantra* may be mentioned. Many of the stories of this book were first translated into Pahlavi and then from Pahlavi into Arabic. The collection of these stories is known in Arabic by the name of "*Kalilah and Dimnah*", equivalent to Pahlavi *Kalilag wa Dimnag* derived from Indian "*Karataka* and *Damanaka*". These stories were the store-house of ethical and political wisdom of India in the dress of proverbs.<sup>2</sup>

In the realms of translated works on Indian philosophy, immortal name of the great Muslim scholar Abū Rayhān Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Berūnī (c 971-1039 A.D.) will ever occupy a very prominent

1. M. T. Titus *op. cit.* p. 145 ;

2. *History of the Philosophy of Islam*—T. J. de Boer, p. 9.

place. "He travelled into India, lived among the Hindus, studied their language, their sciences, their philosophy and literature, Philosophy. their customs and manners, their law, their religion, and their peculiar superstitions; the geographical and physical conditions of the country, embodied his observations in work diversified by quotations from Homer and Plato and other Greek writers and philosophers".<sup>1</sup> This great Muslim savant translated works on the different systems of Hindu philosophy, such as Sāmkhya Sutras of Kapila and the Yoga Sutras of Patanjali.<sup>2</sup>

In the realm of science, Indian works on mathematics, astrology and astronomy were also translated into Arabic. We hear of two versions of the translations of an Indian astrological book, known as Siddhānta by Brahmagupta. The first translated version was prepared by one Fazārī under the Science. patronage of Caliph Maṣūūr ( A.D. 754-775 ). Fazārī translated this book from original Sanskrit and was regularly assisted by Indian scholars. This version was known to the Arabs even before Ptolemy's Almagest.<sup>3</sup> The second version of the translation of this famous book was made by Muḥammad Musā al-Khārizmī according to the order of Ma'mūn ( A.D. 813-833). In order to help his readers in ready and proper understanding the book, this great Muslim scholar added profuse notes and observations to the obscure passages of his translation.<sup>4</sup>

C. Expansion of the Islāmic Empire was another cause that led to the entrance of Islām to proper and direct Indian environment. The expansion was so rapidly made that within a short time after the rise of Islām, Persia, Samarqand, Bukhārā, Turkistan and Afghānistān had to come under the jurisdiction of Islāmic Empire. In all these countries, Expansion of the there had always been Indian atmosphere. The Islāmic Empire. hearts of these countries are always linked with one another by a single inalienable tie of racial, religious and above all cultural unity. When Islām brought these countries

1. History of the Saracens—Amir Ali—ed. 1900 p. 463.

2. History of Indian Philosophy—S.N. Dasgupta (Cambridge University Press, 1922) pp. 233-235.

3. History of the philosophy of Islam—T. J. de Boer—p. 9.

4. History of the Saracens, ed. 1900, p. 466.

under its territorial jurisdiction, it had, to all intents and purposes, to live under a regular Indian atmosphere and influence.

However, with the conquest of India by the Muslims, Islām entered into the direct Indian environment. Arab conquest of Sind early in the eighth century A.D., was the first occasion that gave an opportunity to Islām to live amidst the Indians. But it was a temporary phase which left no appreciable mark on Islām. During the latter part of the twelfth century A.D., an opportunity for the second time came through the conquest of India by the Turks and it was a permanent one. Henceforward, the proselytising zeal of Islām was active in full swing, resulting in the recruitment of a large number of Indians to the fold of Islām. Converts cannot all of a sudden turn out to be totally different men—different in customs, habits, nature, temperament, thought, popular beliefs and culture especially when large masses were converted without any great disturbance of their social order and structure. Thus by fresh recruitments of the Indians, Islām unconsciously had to make room for a considerable part of Indian environment in its own fold. Throughout the whole time of Muslim rule in India, Islām assumed a very liberal attitude towards its social institution of marriage. Very few of the soldiers of Islām brought wives with them to India, and not many of the Arab, Turk, Pathan and Mughal adventurers repairing to India on the look out for fortunes and exploration of new avenues of life, had wives with them. These Muslims took Indian wives and settled in the country often under one or other of the Muslim conquerors and the dynasties founded by them. The descendants of these people were thoroughly Indians, born and brought up under pure Indian environment.

D. Muslim colonization in different parts of India, began from the very beginning of the eighth century A.D. With the growth of maritime activities among the Arabs, they had been busy in colonizing on the sea-coasts of India. It is useless to

recount here the tales of these Arab colonies.

After the establishment of Muslim rule, a net-work of Muslim colonization in all parts of India began to be established, and within a short time it overflowed the country. Arabs, Persians, Turks and Afghāns,

Colonization

who came in the wake of Muslim conquest in India, never returned to their native land. They colonized in different parts of India with their kith and kin.

In view of these existing facts taken together, one can definitely assert that India exerted an enormous influence on the religion and life of the Muslims of India. This is why the Ṣūfiistie creed of the Indian Muslims is so widely different from the dogmatic creeds of Islām, and this is why Ṣūfiism found an early favour with India. The superficial thinkers may wonder, how within the small span of only two centuries viz. twelfth and thirteenth, an alien system of mystic and quasi-philosophical thought, like Ṣūfiism, could have of Sufiism in India, a wide and strong hold on the masses of a foreign country like India. It is very easy to understand, if we only go deep into the matter. We all know Ṣūfiism, like all other mysticisms, originated as an independent mystic thought under the umbrage of Islām in Arabia and Mesopotamia ; but it gradually developed under the mystic influence of the Ṣūfis of Persia, Bukhārā and Samarqand. Ṣūfiism, that was introduced into India with the commencement of the twelfth century, was not the Arabian Ṣūfiism of the eighth and the ninth centuries, but was the matured and fully developed Ṣūfiism of Persia, Bukhārā and Samarqand.

We have already observed that these countries had no mean share in the gradual development of Ṣūfiism during the tenth and the eleventh centuries A. D. Innumerable contributions to the metaphysical aspect of this mystic thought were made by the Ṣūfis of this tract of land. As a result of these rich contributions primitive Arabian Ṣūfiism of an ascetic type was changed into Ṣūfiism of metaphysical and speculative form. The work of Ṣūfiism during the tenth and eleventh centuries, may fitly be compared with the work of Indian masons and engineers who use iron-frames of foreign countries in the construction of an Indian building with indigenous materials. Arabia gave the skeleton, the bones and the marrow to Ṣūfiism while the Eastern tracts added flesh and blood to it, so that it may be attractive to the rest of the world. In furnishing this flesh and blood, India too had made a great contribution, through her cultural and racial bond

of unity with the Eastern tracts. This is the reason, why, "Sūfiism, with its warm mystical yearning after union and fellowship with God, nowhere found a more suitable soil in which to thrive than India, where the very atmosphere was surcharged with a deep religious longing to find God with the result that to-day it is estimated that fully two-third of India's Muslim population are under the influence of some one or other of darvish order".<sup>1</sup>

Before we proceed to estimate the extent of Indian influence on Sūfiism after its advent into this country, we should remember that many of the theories previously elaborated by us, had their origin in the countries outside India. Sūfiism brought the thought, notions, beliefs, etc., of these countries to India along with its advent and then, some of them which had an affinity with the

Indian ones, were here strengthened and those which had no similarity were either replaced by the Indian ones or accepted only in modified form. Hence, it will be somewhat difficult for us to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation, between pure Indian additions and subtractions. Our task becomes still more difficult, if we proceed to point out clearly the influence of different systems of Indian philosophy which might have influenced Sūfiism at some uncertain date before or after its advent into India. Various systems of Indian philosophy sometime overlap one another in such a way, on certain fundamental points that it is somewhat hazardous to particularise the influence of a definite system on certain theories of Sūfiism. In such a case, all other cognate systems will naturally be included within that particular system which will be named.

So far as we know, the earliest Indian influence on Sūfiism in its formative period, was the influence of Buddhism. It has now been admitted by all eminent scholars, both European and Indian, who carried on researches in this field, that Buddhism influenced Islām and its adherents, during the early days, through its itinerant "Bhikkhus" or preachers and monastic organizations in different parts of the Islāmic Empire. The next one is the

1. M.T. Titus, *et. cit.* pp. 112-113.

influence of the Upanishads, that modified, added or replaced many Sūfī theories after their introduction into India. To attribute a direct influence of the Upanishads to Sūfīism before its advent into India, is to ignore the fact that there had been no possibility of

such a direct influence of Upanishads on Sūfīism during the eighth and the ninth centuries A.D. However, after the introduction of Sūfīism into India, the Upanishads contributed many new

things to it, so that it may be properly called "Indian Sūfīism". When Sūfīism was, in this way, modified in India within one or two centuries, it became acceptable to the people of this country without any hesitation.

The third and the greatest Indian influence was felt on the practical side of Sūfīism through the Yoga system of Indian philosophy, and this influence seems to have been more on the practical than on the metaphysical side. We have already dealt with the practical side of Indian Sūfīism at some length, and this will clearly show, how certain practices were adopted by the Sūfīs, both of India and of countries outside India, as a means to the attainment of union with God. From the fifteenth century onward, the Sūfī treatises of India abound with only certain mechanical processes of practices such as controlling of breath, meditation, regulation of diet, etc. etc., much more akin to Yoga practices than to any other performances known to the Islāmic world. The more we shall proceed with our present discussion, the more shall we see the overwhelming influence of Yoga on Indian Sūfīism.

Let us now proceed to examine the extent of Indian influence on Sūfīism—particularly from the point of view of its Indian developments. A retrospect of the Indian Sūfī theories, practices and beliefs, dealt with earlier is indispensably necessary here. Hence in a few cases, a repetition of those things may be useful to us, and we crave the indulgence of our readers for this necessary repetition at the outset.

What is the fundamental idea of Indian Sūfīism? Theories of "*tawḥīd*" or divine unity, "*ruḥ*" or human soul and "*qurbat*" or divine proximity taken together, we see a Real Being underlies the whole of universe and the things it contains. This Real Being (*al-ḥaqq*) is the only reality and everything except Him is

unreal. The human soul is a part of this Real Being ; hence it is eternal and uncreated. God is within the body of a man pervading the whole of it, and He is the eternal soul of man, that resides in it. An extraordinary emphasis on the realisation of the self meaning thereby "*ruh*" has been laid in the theory of divine proximity, where the soul of man is no doubt Influence of the made identical with the Real Being. These fundamental ideas of Indian Sufism are much more away from some funda- the orthodox Islamic conception of "*tawhid*", "*ruh*" mental Indian and "*qurbat*" than they are distant from the ideas Sufi theories of the Upanishads. "The fundamental idea which runs through the early Upanishads is that underlying the exterior world of change there is an unchangeable reality which is identical with that which underlies the essence in man".<sup>1</sup> The Real Being of the Indian Sufis is termed "*al-haqq*" which the unchangeable character of "Brahman" and "*Al-haqq*" is exactly the same. The "*atman*" conception of Upanishads and the Sufi conception of "*ruh*" do not differ much. Following the same process of thought, and employing the almost identical arguments, both the sages of Upanishads and the Sufis of India, came to one and the same conclusion that "*atman*" (i. e. *ruh*) or "Brahma" (i. e. *Al-haqq*) is the only reality and that besides this everything else is unreal.<sup>2</sup> Owing to identification of the soul with the Real Being, the Sufis of India directed all of their attention to the realisation of the self (i. e. *ruh*) just as the ancient sages of India did. According to the Sufi system of thought union (*wisāl*) with God the ultimate Reality is the 'summum bonum' of man's life and this union is achieved by the only means of self-realisation. A man is infinite and his body is regarded as a microcosm which fully represents the universe within itself. If he can conquer the body i. e. sorrow, affliction, pleasure, pain, and desire, etc., that flesh is heir to, he becomes illuminated (*munawwar*) in his body and soul. After the achievement of perfect illumination, he realises the self and then

1. History of Indian philosophy Vol. I.—S.N. Dasgupta, 1922 p. 42.

2. *Ibid.*, p 50

he becomes one with God. The experiences of this unitative state have not yet been described by any Ṣūfī in a clear manner. It is a state of mystical experience that cannot be expressed by human tongue. It is often called by the Ṣūfīs as the state of "*fanāfillāh*" or self-annihilation in God and sometimes "*baqā billāh*" or permanently abiding in God. In both the final state of a Ṣūfī, there are two aspects, viz., negative and affirmative. The negative aspect consists of the extinction of desires, sorrow and affliction etc., and the affirmative aspect is the eternal bliss achieved as a continuation of mortification of the flesh. This Ṣūfī doctrine of union and the means of its achievement through the realisation of the self, were surely the outcome of the Indian doctrine of "*mukti*" and the means of its achievement through self realisation. The following few lines quoted from the *History of Indian Philosophy* by S.N. Dasgupta, are helpful to understand the extent of influence of the Upanishads on the above Ṣūfī doctrine of India :

"Emancipation or Mukti means in the Upanisads, the state of infiniteness that a man attains when he knows his own self and thus becomes Brahman.....The knowledge of the self reveals the fact that all our passions and antipathies, all our limitations of experience, all that is ignoble and small in us, all that is transient and finite in us is false. We 'do not know' but our 'pure knowledge' ourselves. We are not limited by anything for we are the infinite; we do not suffer death, for we are immortal. Emancipation thus is not a new acquisition product, an effect or result of any action, but it always exists as the truth of our nature. We are always emancipated and always free..... All sufferings and limitations are true only so long as we do not know our self. Emancipation is the natural and only goal of man, simply because, it represents the true nature and essence of man. It is the realisation of our nature that is called emancipation".<sup>1</sup>

1, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I. 1922. P. 58.



A strong pessimistic attitude of the Indian Şūfis towards the world is the result of the Vedantic influence on Şūfism. Sankara the famous Vedantic doctor, who flourished during the later part of the eighth century A. D. holds that only Brahman is real and He 'is the self of us all' and besides Him, 'all creation is illusory—is māyā'. The germ of this Vedantic doctrine of "māyā" or illusion is traceable in the Upanishads; but in the later part of the eighth century A. D., the doctrine was fully expounded of "Māyā" on by Sankara. When an Indian Şūfī warns the people the Şūfis of against their attraction and attachment to the world India. which is ultimately perishable (*fānī*) and declares with a serious despondent tone that a life is but a momentary dream, none can hesitate to think of the influence of Vedanta on him. It is easy to understand that to persons who hold the view that only "*Al-ḥaqq*" (the Real Being) is the ultimate reality and everything other than He is unreal, this world can not but be illusory. The Indian Şūfis like "The Naiyayikas, in common with most other systems of Indian philosophy, believed that the world was full of sorrow and that the small bits of pleasure only served to intensify the force of sorrow. To the wise, therefore, everything is sorrow and they are never attached to the so-called pleasures of life which only lead us to further sorrow".<sup>1</sup>

The Pantheistic attitude of the Şūfis is now patent. Indian Şūfis inherited this from their spiritual forefathers of Persia, Bukhārā and Samarqand. In the Persian form of Influence of Hindu Şūfism (a generic name applied here to mean pantheism on the the Şūfism of all the three countries) the pan-Şūfī theories of theistic tendency was much more guarded than its "*Ḥamāh ūst*" and loose form developed on the Indian soil. In course of time, pantheism appeared in such a full-fledged way that it became identical with Hindu pantheism of the Upanishads. We have already observed that the peculiar

1. *History of Indian Philosophy*,—*op. cit*—Vol. I. p. 365.

and rigid monotheism of Islām has been carefully banished from the philosophy of the Indian Şūfīs. Through the theory of "*hamah ūst*" or all is He, God has been conceived as an immanent Being in the plurality of phenomena, and through the theory of "*hamah az ūst*" or all is from Him, the quality of transcendence is attributed to Him, so that everything may reside in Him. Hence, according to these two theories, God is in the universe and the universe is in God. Compare this pantheistic conception of God with Brahman conception of Upanishads and then, what happened with the Şūfīs of India will be apparent :

"He (*Brahman*) is the creator of the universe and the world belongs to Him and He to the world. Yet He is the inmost self of all living beings (*saryabhutāntaratmā*) and the immortal inner controller of all (*antarayāmin*). But though He is the controller and creator of all, yet it is He who has become this visible universe of diverse name and forms. Just as the wind and the fire appear in different forms, so he also appears in all the varied forms that present themselves to us in this world. Being one in Himself, He has become the visible many of the universe".<sup>1</sup>

We have already observed that the theory of soul (*ruh*) is one of the most important theories of Şūfīism in general and Indian Şūfīism in particular. Indian Şūfīs are of the Şūfī theory opinion that a soul is uncreated, eternal and ever of soul and the pure. It pervades the whole body and is not influence of In- located in any definite part of a body. It is a dian "*ātman*" part of the Universal Soul and after its separation conception it. from the body, nay even before that, it can return to its original place and unite with the Universal Soul. Such a conception of the soul is not an Islāmic one. According to the theological conception of soul, it is created from the essence (*dhāt*) of God and when it returns to Him, only after its separation from the body, it cannot merge in God, due to certain changes that it undergoes, during the time of its close

1. *Hindu Mysticism*—S.N. Dasgupta (Chicago—1927), p. 50.

association with the finite body. It is then kept in custody in one of the two places, *Sijjīn* and *‘Illīn*, where it remains till the Day of Resurrection (*Yawmu-’l-qayāmat*).

The cause of such a wide difference between the theological and Sufi conception of soul cannot be accounted for, unless we turn our attention to the influence of Indian philosophy on Sufism before and after its introduction into India. Almost all of the Indian philosophical systems save the Buddhistic one, admit the existence of soul which has been differently named, such as “*ātman*” “*purūṣa*” or “*jīva*”, in the various systems. A kind of fundamental unity exists among all the systems on this particular doctrine of “*ātman*”. The Sufi conception of the soul is exactly the same as the Indian conception of “*ātman*”. According to the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika school of Indian philosophy, “Never has the production of ‘*ātman*’ been experienced nor has it been found to suffer any destruction like the body ; so the soul must be eternal. It is not located in any part of the body but is all pervading, i. e. exists at the same time in all places (*vibhu*) and does not travel with the body but exists everywhere at the same time”.

We have already tried to trace the influence of “*mukti*” doctrine on Sufism. So far its achievement through the realisation of the self (i. e. “*ātman*”—Sufi “*rūḥ*”) is concerned, it surely influenced the Sufi doctrine of “*fanā*” and “*baqā*”. These are not two separate doctrines, but the two aspects of one doctrine only ; for, the first stage of “*baqā*” is “*fanā*” and the last stage of “*fanā*” is “*baqā*”. “*Baqā*” is not an altogether different thing but rather a continuation of “*fanā*”. “*Fanā*” is the state of highest mystical ecstasy (*wajd*) generally achieved after the mortification of flesh, while “*baqā*” is the state of mental tranquility achieved as a necessary result of “*fanā*”. In the state of “*fanā*”, the saint totally annihilates all his desires save the desideratum of God, and all his pleasures, pains and passions through the practice of severe mortifications. In it, he laughs, he

weeps, he sings, he cries under the pleasure or pain of mental experiences. He loses the power of objective experiences but subjective experiences still remain in him. The state of "*baqā*" is the state of eternal bliss. When a saint reaches the stage of "*bāqā*", he assumes a perfectly calm attitude and loses all objective and subjective experiences of human life. Hence, "*fanā*" may be characterised as the negative aspect of "*baqā*" and "*baqā*" the affirmative aspect of "*fanā*".

So far as these two aspects of the Śufī doctrine are concerned, it perfectly resembles the Buddhistic doctrine of Nirvāṇa or "*Nibbāna*". There is no room for doubt that "The Śufī conception of the passing away (*fanā*) of individual self in Universal being, is.....of Indian origin. Its first great exponent was the Persian mystic Bāyazīd of Bisṭām (d.874 A.D) who may have received it from its teacher, Abū Alī of Sind ( Scinde )".<sup>1</sup> To the Buddhists, the state of "*Nibbāna*" exactly resembles the state of the extinction of a flame and at the same time it is 'blissful'. "If it was compared to the extinction of a flame, this was quite proper. For, is it not a state in which all worldly experiences entirely and absolutely cease to exist? Yet it is blissful in the sense that it can stimulate our spiritual cravings and spiritual strivings to the highest degree... ....This state was rightly called immortal and blissful, because it was looked upon by the Buddhists as the end of all their sufferings, the goal of all their spiritual strivings and the culmination of spiritual perfection. What is specially emphasised from the negative point of view is that it is absolutely non-logical in its nature. It has no describable essence. The mysticism of the Buddhists consists in a belief in this essenceless state of Nirvāṇa as the state of ultimate perfection and ultimate extinction to be realised by the complete extinction of desires and the supra-intellectual wisdom of the Yoga practice".<sup>2</sup>

Let us now turn our attention to the practical ( as opposed to theoretical ) side of Indian Śufism. If we go deep into the matter, we see that the whole system of the practical side

1. *Mystics of Islam*—R.A. Nicholson, p. 17.

2. *Hindu Mysticism*—S.N. Dasgupta ( Chicago-1927 ), pp. 89-91.

tends to one and only one object—the culture of the self (*ruh*), by which, a mystic illumination of the self, like the Indian Yaugic illumination, is ultimately achieved at the final stage of mystical perfection. Indeed the methods adopted for the culture of the self (*ruh*) are different (the difference being always of minor character) in diverse circles, known as orders or sub-orders, but they are all fundamentally same in principle aiming at the absolute freedom of the self (*ruh*) from all kinds of bondage connected with the activities of “*nafs*” or evil tendencies of flesh i.e. mind. The achievement of this freedom is often aimed at by the mechanical help of strict physical disciplines which are considered as the best controlling agents of the “*nafs*” or mind.

In this connection, it should be borne in mind that “*nafs*”, as it has been variously described by the Indian Sufis, does not lead us to believe that it is something other than mind of man. We need not enter here into the vague and vexed definitions of “*nafs*” given by the Sufis of different countries. They simply betray the inadequacy of properly understanding the nature of “*nafs*” by the Sufis. From the wilderness of these inadequate and ill-conceived definitions of “*nafs*”, what we can pick out is this that “*nafs*” is the fountain of all bad actions. In the opinion of

the Sufis, good actions of men are attributed to  
 “*Nafs*” the activities of soul (*ruh*). We all know, mind  
 described, or will is the fountain-head of all human actions  
 —good or bad. Soul is rather an inactive function

of human mind, the only active function being his will in action. When mind functions properly, man works according to his own volition, otherwise he sits idle like a statue. The Sufis could not trace the origin of human actions and hence they divided them into two big divisions and ascribed their origin to two different things—mind and soul. Though they attribute the good actions of men to the activities of the human soul, yet a careful study of the gradual development of “*nafs*” leads us to believe that the ultimate activity of “*nafs*” does not produce bad result but a good one. Predominantly, on the basis of gradual development, a “*nafs*” is given four different names, which are as follows :

1. “*Nafs-i-ammārah*” or Imperious mind : when a mind is not subject to the control of its possessor and is always inclined

to commit evil deeds without any regard to their bad consequences, it is called *Nafs-i-ammārah*".

2. "*Nafs-i-lawāmah*" or Reproving mind : When, "mind is partially under the control of its possessor and frequently gives up an evil tendency in a remorseful mood but again commits an evil deed, it is then called '*nafs-i-lawāmah*'.

3. "*Nafs-i-muṭmayyanah*" or Complacent mind :- When a mind is under the full control of its possessor and does not at all commit evil deeds according to the dictates of its propensity and after all assumes a composed, contented, satiated and calm attitude, it is then called "*nafs-i-muṭmayyanah*".

4. "*Nafs-i-mulhimah*" or Inspiratory mind : This is the last stage of mental development, in which a mind can easily draw inspirations from God. It is said that such a mind can fathom the secret of God and acts according to the will of God only.

From this, it will be seen that the last function of the "*nafs*" is to be an instrument of good. Hence, Ṣūfī idea of "*nafs*" includes imperceptibly both good and bad propensities of mind. We have, therefore, rendered "*nafs*" into English as "*mind*" and we think we are not wholly unjustified in doing so. However, all the methods, the Ṣūfīs employed for the self-illumination, are meant to eradicate the evil function of "*nafs*" or mind and thereby cultivate the good one with the hope of prospective self-illumination, which is, it is believed, sure to come after the "*nafs*" is totally subdued i. e. the mind is perfectly controlled. Viewed from this point of view, the entire foundation of Ṣūfī culture of the self by the help of practices, rests on a full control of mind.

So far as the control of mind is concerned with the practical systems of the Indian Ṣūfīs, it is wholly based on the Indian Yoga systems. Of course, we admit, some of these systems of the Indian Ṣūfīs were introduced into India from outside. Yet, we cannot help believing that Indian Yoga systems had a strong influence on the Ṣūfīs of Persia, Bukhārā and Samarqand,

especially when there are so many positive proofs of Indian influence on the Islāmic world. The more the creeds of the Sūfīs were Indianized, the more they were influenced by the Indian Yoga doctrines, till they were almost changed to a proper Yoga system of India. What is the ultimate aim of the Yoga Fundamental systems? It is but "the cessation of all mental Similarity between states" or in other words absolute and entire stoppage of "the conscious and sub-conscious mental flow".<sup>1</sup> and "Sūfī" Its purpose "is to steady the mind on the gradually practices, advancing stages of thoughts towards liberation, so that vicious tendencies may gradually be more weakend and at last disappear altogether".<sup>2</sup> And what we find in the practical side of the Indian Sūfīism? Is it not exactly similar to Yoga in its cardinal principle and main purpose? The ultimate aim of the Indian Sūfīs is the eradication of the vicious propensities of "*nafs*". They like "The Yogins not only emphasized the necessity of the highest moral perfection but they also required a particular course of physical and mental discipline as indispensable to the realisation of Yoga's (i. e. Sūfī practices') high ideal". They exactly like "The Yogins emphasized not only the negative aspect of morality, such as abstinence from injury, falsehood, and the like, but also such positive moral virtues as purity and contentment".<sup>3</sup> Their conception of "*nafs*" or mind is exactly like conception of "*Citta*" or mind of the Yoga system of Patanjali who in his Yoga Sutra uses the term "Yoga" "in the sense of the partial and full restraint or steady-ing of the states of *Citta*".<sup>4</sup> According to this famous compiler of Yoga Sūtras, a mind or *Citta* has five states, viz. (i) Kṣipta or wild (ii) Pramūḍha or ignorant, (iii) Vikṣipta or unsteady, (iv) Ekāgra or one-pointed, (v) Nirodha or cessation. These five states of *Citta* exactly correspond to the four states of "*nafs*"—the first two states as mentioned by Patanjali, belonging to the first state of "*nafs*" i. e. "*nafs-i-ammārah*" or imperious mind, while

1. *Hindu Mysticism*—S.N. Dasgupta ( 1927 ), pp. 70-71.

2. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II. ( 1922 ), S. N. Dasgupta- p. 270.

3. *Hindu Mysticism*—S.N. Dasgupta, p. 74.

4. *History of Indian Philosophy*—Op. cit. Vol. I. p. 268.

the other three successive states corresponding to the remaining three states of "*nafs*".

The "*maqāmāt*" or stages of the Śūfīs, on the allegorical path ( *tāriq* ) leading one to the union with God, were fundamentally based on the Buddhistic Yoga. From our previous observations, it will be clearly seen that these "*maqāmāt*" are nothing but the stages of sainthood. Leaving aside the question of "*maqām-i-nāsūt*" which is only a stage of ordinary humanity, remaining three other "*maqāmāt*" viz. "*malkūt*", "*jabrūt*" and "*lāhūt*", are successively stages of a "*sālik*" or a traveller on the way to the union with God, "*arīf*" or a gnostic and "*walī*"

or a saint who has attained "*ḥaqīqat*" or divine reality. These three stages were no doubt borrowed by the Śūfīs from the Buddhists who admit the three stages of sainthood viz., (i) *Sotāpannabhāva* or the stage in which one is put in the right current, (ii) *Sakadāgāmiḥāva* or the stage when one has only one more birth to undergo, and (iii) *Arhat* or the stage where one attains *nibbāna*. One thing to be noted here is this that both the words "*sālik*" and "*sotāpanna*" have each a metaphor lurked behind them,—the former deriving its metaphor from a path, while the latter, from a river or rebirth. A "*sālik*" possesses "*taqwā*" or piety consisting of all deeds by which sins are studiously avoided, while a "*sotāpanna*" practises "*śīlā*" or refrainment of committing all sinful deeds. Just like a Buddhist "*sakadāgāmi*", an "*arīf*" of the Śūfīs possesses "*paññā*" or "*m'arifah*" i. e. gnosis. By the help of this gnosis, a Buddhist "*sakadāgāmi*" is promoted to the stage of an "*arhat*" and a Śūfī "*arīf*", to the stage of a "*walī*". Both of these two kinds of saints are free from all bondages of the world, when they attain perfection.<sup>1</sup>

It is needless to say that "The Śūfīs learned the use of rosaries (*tasbīh*) from the Buddhist monks and without entering into the details, it may be safely asserted that the methods of Śūfīsm,

1. For the Buddhist Yoga system vide the *History of Indian Philosophy* by S. N. Dasgupta, Vol. I pp. 100-106.



so far as it is one of self-culture, ascetic meditation and intellectual observation, owes a good deal to Buddhism".<sup>1</sup> At the time of "*dhikr*" the Sūfīs generally use "*tasbīh*" or rosary as an aid to memory. We do not find any historical proof of the use of rosary among the early Sūfīs. "It began in Eastern Islam, which is the hearth of Indian influence, and exerted itself on Sūfī society" and then it "soon spread beyond the Sūfī circle".<sup>2</sup> After the introduction of Sūfism into India, the use of rosary among the Indian Sūfīs became a manifest symbol of piety; for we meet with such lines, as the following, in the works of the Indian Sūfīs :-

"Thou stylest thyself to be a *Shaykh* (i. e. Pīr) with rosaries  
in the hand;

Hundred idols, thou keepest concealed, O idol-worshipper!"

Qalandar. (3.)

From this it will be clearly seen that the use of rosary, was much accentuated in India during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and we do not entertain any doubt that this accentuation was caused by the frequent contact of Indian Sūfīs with the Yogins who use to count rosaries for devotional purposes. Undoubtedly, "*Tasbīh*" became, in this way, an excellent counterpart of "*Mala*".

As regards the invention of "*latīfahs*" or centres of light in human body by the Naqshbandī order of darvishes, we can easily trace the imperfect adoption of the Yoga "*Latīfahs*" are theory of *Kundalinī Satchakra-bheda*. Dr. Iqbal an imperfect considers the Sūfī cultivation of "*latīfahs*" as a imitation of practice, wholly based on un-Islāmic principle and "*Satchakras*". borrowed from the Hindus of India.<sup>4</sup> We entertain no doubt that the six main "*latīfahs*" of the Sūfīs

1. *Mystics of Islam*—R. A. Nicholson, p. 17.

2. *Muhammad and Islam*—Ignas Goldziher (Tr. from the German language)—Kate Chambers Seelye, pp. 176-177.

3. شیخ می گوئی و تسبیح بدست + صدیقه داری نهان ای بت پرست  
(بوعلی قلندر)

4. *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*—Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, p. 110.

were borrowed from the famous Kundalinī theory of the Yogins and in support of our remark, we like to compare the “*laṭīfahs*” with the six “*chakras*” in the following table :<sup>1</sup>

No.	Laṭīfahs.	Situations in the human body	Light. emitted	Chakras.	Situations in the human body.	Light. emitted
1	Qalb or Heart.	Under the left breast	Yellow	Mūla-dh ra	Spinal centre of region-below the genitals.	Yellow
2	Rūh or Soul	Beneath the right breast	Red	Svādhi-sṭhāna	Spinal centre of region above the genitals	White.
3	Sirr or Secret Heart	A little below the Qalb or heart	White	Mani-pūra.	Spinal centre of region of the navel	Red
4	Khafi or Secret Soul	A little below the Ruh or soul	Black	Anahata	Spinal centre of region of the heart	Smoky.
5	Akhfa or Most Secret Heart	Middle of the chest	Green	Visuddha	Spinal centre of region of the throat	White
6	Nafa or Evil Self	Navel or Middle of two eye-brows	No light	Ājñā	Centre region between the eye-brows.	No light.

From the above comparative table, it will be seen that the Şufī adoption of Yoga theory of “*Ṣaṭchakra-bheda*” is quite imperfect and immature ; for, the locations of “*laṭīfahs*” and the lights they possess do not exactly correspond in all respects to the locations and lights of the six “*Chakras*”. This is due to the ignorance of anatomical knowledge of the şufīs who were far inferior to the Indian Yogins with respect to the scientific knowledge of human body. Whatever might have been the case, the Şufī practice of the cultivation of “*laṭīfahs*” is simply a crude and imperfect imitation of the Yoga practice of “*ṣaṭachakra*”.

Besides these, the influence of Indian Yoga practices on many

1. *The Serpent Power*—Arthur Avalon (Second Edition), Madras, 1924.

of the other practices of the Śūfīs, is quite enormous. Indian Śūfīs inherited some of these practices from their Persian and Turki masters, while many others, they imitated or borrowed directly from the Yogins with whom they came in frequent contact

in India. However, the Yoga method of breath-control (*prāṇāyāma*), sitting posture (*āsana*), steady meditation (*dhyaṇa*), fixing the mind on a certain object (*dhāraṇā*) and mystic union with the godhead (*samādhi*) are the leading factors contributing to and moulding the practical side of Śūfī theosophy.

Can any sane man say that Yoga had no influence on the Śūfī (especially Indian) methods of practising "*dhikr*" with the help of "*ḥabs-i-dam*" or breath-control, "*murāqibah*" or mystic meditation requiring definite sitting postures and certain processes of controlling mind? For the sake of illustration we like to cite here only one case of "*dhikr-i-rābiṭah*" or the recitation of God's name through a medium. We know that the final achievement of this kind of "*dhikr*" is "*fanā fī sh-Shaykh*" or the identification of the self of a "*sālik*" with the self of his "*Pīr*". Only because, a "*sālik*" is a mere novice in the practice of this kind of "*dhikr*", and only because he cannot fix his mind on God, whom he has not seen in his life, he is tutored to meditate repeatedly on the visualized image of his "*Pīr*", and thereby steady his mind on that conceptual figure, till he completely visualizes it in his own mind and identifies him with it. Does not this process of "*dhikr*" involve the two Yoga processes of "*dhyaṇa*" and "*dhāraṇā*"? In Yoga we see, "The process of practising concentration is begun by sitting in a steady posture, holding the breath by "*prāṇāyāma*", excluding all other thoughts, and fixing the mind on any object (*dhāraṇā*). At first it is difficult to fix steadily on any object, and the same thought has to be repeated constantly in the mind, this is called *Dhyaṇa*. After sufficient practice in *dhyaṇa*, the mind attains the power of making itself steady; at this stage it becomes one with its object and there is no change or repetition".<sup>1</sup> Here the only difference be-

1. *History of Indian Philosophy*—S. N. Dasgupta, (Cambridge University Press, 1922), Vol. I. p. 272,

tween the two systems—Ṣūfī and Yoga—is the difference in choice of objects, on which is to concentrate the mind. The Ṣūfī concentrates his mind only on one definite thing, viz., his “*pīr*” or “*Shaykh*”, while the Yogi can concentrate his “*Chitta*” on any objects say, light, colour, earthball, image of a deity etc.

Besides the influences of Yoga, other Indian influences on Ṣūfīism are not wanting, such as the influence of the Tantra. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Tantra replaced the ancient ascetic practices of Yoga in many places of India. It is not a new thing that grew all on a sudden in India ; it is nothing but a modified form of ancient Yoga. Besides, the beginnings of the Tantra are believed to be very old.

Influence of Its influence is clearly traceable in the Indian Ṣūfī “Tantra” on the practice of *Kashfu’l-qubūr*’ or revelation from the Indian Ṣūfī practice of “*Kashfu’l-qubūr*” the Indian darvishes for the purpose of receiving revelations from the dead, buried under the graves,

or of knowing the conditions of the dead, is quite similar to the psychic power that was generally found among a class of Tantriks who used to perform devotional exercises through the medium of a dead body. This process of Tantrik devotion is known as “*Ṣava-sādhang*”. It is said that the Tantriks could know many mysterious things through the medium of revelation from the dead body or through the recitation of “*mantras*” over the dead body. Ṣūfī practice of “*Kashfu’l-qubūr*” is not an Islāmic form of devotion or religious practice. There is no parallel institution in Islām as “*Kashfu’l-qubūr*”. If the Ṣūfis of India do not borrow it from their Tantrik neighbours, whence they got it ? From “*Kashfu’l-qubūr*”, Indian Ṣūfis like the Tantriks do not only know the condition of the dead man, but also they can, as they say, derive sufficient spiritual benefit, much helpful in the way to their spiritual perfection.

The influence of Tantra was felt in another aspect of the Indian Ṣūfī practice and that is the thaumaturgic aspect. Indian Ṣūfī way of curing chronic and incurable diseases by the internal or external application of simple but charmed water, herbs of

unknown medicinal property, exorcism, amulets and the like, was surely imitated from the practices of the Indian Tantriks who used to adopt this method for gaining popularity among the masses.

An Indian Sufi sometimes occupies the place of a Hindu astrologer too. He is often consulted by the masses, on occasions of marriages, ailments, law-suits, financial stringencies and many others like worldly difficulties. Use of "*tawidhs*" and talismans common in Persia, Mesopotamia India and elsewhere in the Islamic world, may be attributed to the influence of India on Islam. The genesis of the belief in such superstitious things cannot be traced back to early Islam. It may be reminded here that sorcery "*Indrajāl*" and use of talisman "*Kavacha-s*" were not unheard of things in ancient India. Rather, they were quite common among the Indians from very early time.

## Chapter VI

### Introduction of Sufism into Bengal

Bengal like many other lands does not possess sufficient records of her internal affairs before the fifteenth century. She is also unfortunate in not having any history of thought movements which, in all probability, started emerging with the advent of Islām from the thirteenth century. Although she played her part in the politics of Northern India during the early period of Turkī conquest, yet, she does not possess any connected and detailed accounts of her politics,—not to speak of the history of growth and development of new thoughts. Early Muslim histories of India, like *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz shāhī*, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭah* and the like, history of Bengal furnish us with only occasional glimpses of political affairs in Bengal, which again are not always absolutely reliable on many points. Moreover, these histories record only those facts and incidents of unusual importance which linked Bengal with the metropolis of the Muslim Empire at Delhi.

Within the span of about a century and a half after the Turkī conquest of India, Muslim rulers of Bengal shook off the yoke of Delhi and became independent. The period of independence, covering nearly two hundred and fifty years, (1350-1575 A.D.) was an important period in the history of Bengal, during which, she enjoyed some amount of commercial, artistic, architectural and cultural prosperity on the whole. Unfortunately no contemporary records of this period is now available. Those histories which have been written in recent times and are based on modern researches give us only a collection of stray political facts and archaeological notes, such as could be gleaned from inscriptions, coins, monuments and notices in early Muhammadan histories. The introduction of a

new and a virile culture like that of Muslim Persia and Central Asia was naturally provocative enough of new thoughts and ideas in the country. No significant inquiry has, however, been made in this important field of Bengali culture.

Our present work being almost a pioneering one in the field, naturally confronts us with many difficulties and shortcomings. It is a fact that Islām spread in this country in the garb of Sūfism. Sūfis were the real precursors of Islām and the agents of its expansion. In writing a history of early Muslim thought such as Sūfism, one has to take the little but available help from the Sources of Sūfi historical records of the country and to rely to some history in Bengal extent (of course with great caution) upon the traditions that are still current in different parts of the country among the masses. These traditions appear in many cases to be genuine and to go back to the actual times relating the incidents that occurred in the lives of local saints and Sūfis of Bengal. We have always tried to put the validity of these traditions to some kinds of test, and at the outset we admit, we are not always sure of the result. Therefore, the conclusions arrived at hold good only so long as other and more authentic and conclusive facts do not come to light.

The first point to decide is to find out the earliest age when Sūfism was introduced into Bengal. We have observed in the opening chapter of this book that Sūfism in Bengal was the continuation of Sūfism in Northern India, and that the eleventh century A. D. was the probable time when Sūfism was first introduced into India. In that connection we have mentioned Earliest time of two names of Sūfis, viz. Shāh Sultān Rūmī (reputed the introduction arrival at Mymensing in 1053 A. D.) and Bābā Adam of Sūfism into (said to have been put to death by Rājā Ballāla Sena at Bikrampur, Dacca, in 1119 A. D.), who, according to a Persian document and a tradition, came to Bengal during the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively. We have not yet found any reliable proof of the advent of other Sūfis anterior to or immediately following these two solitary figures.

The long gap that still exists between their advent and the advent of others who followed them cannot historically be accounted for.

So far as our present knowledge goes, the earliest historical Śufī, who came to Bengal after the two fore-mentioned solitary figures was Shaykh Jalālu'-d-Dīn Tabrizī (d. 1225 A. D.). His position with respect to the spread of Islām in the guise of Śufism in Bengal, is like that of Khwājah Mu'īnu'-d-Dīn Chishtī (1142-1236) with reference to Northern India. Just a few years before the Turkī conquest, he came to Bengal, and along with his '*blessed advent*' ('*subhodaya*' as the Sanskrit chronicle-romance relating to him calls the event), the downfall of the Senas hastened. Śufīs belonging to different orders and sub-orders of India, soon followed his wake and within a century or two Bengal became overflowed by their influx.

From the beginning of the thirteenth up to the end of the fourteenth centuries, the Śufīs of Northern India predominated over the Śufīs of Bengal. Their influx did not abate till the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. Predominance of Northern India. During these few centuries, their deputies (*Khalīfahs*) over the Bengali and the deputies of their deputies, were the sole Muslim thought guides to Bengali Muslims in religious matters. through the agency The reason why Northern Indian Śufīs were supreme of the Śufīs in Bengal was that Muslims of Bengal thought that those hailing from the west were far superior in matters of faith and ritual and in general orthodoxy to those born and brought up in the province, so far away from the centres of Muslim thought and culture. Such preferential treatment was also the outcome of two things,—(i) prestige naturally enjoyed by the conquerors over the conquered and (ii) the charm and mystery of the unknown and the far-away, which foreign Muslims brought with them to Bengal at a time when the Muslim faith was fast spreading. The predominance of Northern India over Bengal in the realm of Muslim thought came to an end with the close of the fifteenth century A.D., after which Bengal completely freed herself from the thralldom of Northern Indian Śufī thought. Recent revival of Islām, or rather strengthening of Islām has



once more brought the Muslim people of Bengal face to face with the possibility of a cultural domination by Northern India. Most of the people of Bengal accepted this as a matter of course, but a few (and those among the best cultured) resisted.

During the period of Northern Indian Sūfī predominance over the Muslims of Bengal, a number of Sūfī orders and sub-orders of Northern India were introduced into Bengal by the deputies (*Khalīfahs*) of the Northern Indian Introduction of saints. Unfortunately, however, no connected account Northern Indian of the activities of these deputies and their followers Sūfī orders and is now available. Stray bits of information regarding Sub-orders into different Sūfis of Bengal, that we have gathered from Bengal. different sources, do not enable us to build up a connected history of these orders. Owing to this difficulty, we are constrained to give here only a summary account of them.

1. **Suhrawardī** :—Suhrawardī order of India had the credit to be the first Sūfī order that was introduced to Bengal by *Makhdūm Shaykh Jalālu-'d-Dīn Tabrizī* (d. 1225), one of the great saints of India-wide fame. In spite of his title "Tabrizī" that in an ordinary case would have indicated the birth-place Suhrawardī order of the saint, we are inclined to take him to be born and brought up in Northern India, for reasons to be adduced hereafter in the proper place. He came to Bengal just on the eve of the Turkī conquest of the country and died in Pānduā (Gaur) in or about the year 1225 A.D. As he was a great propagandist, he converted a number of Hindus mostly belonging to lower classes (the fact can be known from the Sanskrit chronicle—romance "*Seksubhodayā*") to the Islāmic faith before the coming of the Turks to Bengal. The last Hindu King of Bengal, Lakṣmaṇa Sena, is to have built for him a mosque and a "*Khānaqāh*" or monastery at Pānduā, but we do not know, whether he left any reputed spiritual successor behind him. We shall elaborately discuss the life of this saint in the following chapter.

The next great saint, who belonged to this order and visited

Bengal, was Makhdum Jahāniyā Jahāngasht Bukharī. His real name was Mīr Sayyad Jalāl-u'-d-Dīn. He belonged to the celebrated Sayyad family of Bukhārā which produced a number of famous saints. He was a great traveller and was known to almost all of the Sūfīs of Northern India. On the day of the death of Shaykh 'Alāu'-d-Dīn 'Alāu'-l-Haqq of Pānduā, he is said to have been present in this city and performed the funeral prayer (*namāz-i-janāzah*) of the departed saint as the "*Imām*" or leader of the funeral party. On this occasion he lived in Bengal for some time and imparted education (probably mystic and esoteric) to Nūru'-d-Dīn, the son of the departed saint and initiated many other people including grantees and men of high rank to his own creed.<sup>1</sup> The length of the period of his life covers 1307 to 1383 A.D. He died and was buried at Uch.

The third great Sūfī of the Suhrawardī order of Bengal was Shāh Jalāl Mujarrad-i-Yamanī. He was a reputed saint, warrior and an accredited preacher. The whole of Eastern Bengal and a large part of Assam bordering to Bengal owe a great deal to him for the spread of Islām there. His wonderful proselytising zeal is remembered by the people of Eastern Bengal and Assam, who still sing in his praise in ballad, two lines of which run thus :-

“হিন্দু আছে লাক্কে লাক্কে নাইরে মুসলমান।  
সিলেটর মোকামে আসি কে দিল আজান রে ভাই  
কে দিল আজান ॥”

“Hindu ache lakhe lakhe, nāire musalmān ;  
Silatar mokāme āsi ke dila āzān rebhāi,  
ke dila āzān.”

Translation.

“Hindus are in lacs, but Musalmans are none;  
Who was he to come to the tract of Sylhet and  
to give the message of Āzān, O my brother, to give  
the message of Āzān (Islāmic prayer-call)”.

His beautiful shrine in the town of Sylhet had been and will ever

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliyā-i-Hind* (Urdu)—Mirzā Muḥammad Akhtar Dehlawī, part, III. p. 147

be a place of pilgrimage to the Muslims of Bengal and Assam for the reason that he was the most successful bearer of the torch of Islām. He was said to be an inhabitant of Yaman in Arabia. Having lost his parent in the early age, he was brought up and and tutored and initiated into the mystic creed of the Sufis by his maternal uncle, according to the direction of whom he came to Bengal, took up the cause of an oppressed Muslim in Assam, fought bravely with Rājā Gaur Govinda of Sylhet and defeated him in a protracted battle with the help of a Muslim army of Gaur and a band of warrior saints. He settled in Sylhet and preached Islām in and around the place for the remaining portion of his life. He died in Sylhet in the year 1346 A.D., the year of Ibn Batutah's visit to Bengal. We shall elaborately discuss the life of this renowned saint later on.

2. **Chishti:** In the wake of Suhrawardī order, Chishti Sufis entered Bengal to preach Islām. The first man was probably the renowned Northern Indian saint Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn Shakrganj (d. 1269 A.D.). Bengal still preserves his Chishti order revered memory in her traditions, ballads, and place-names. So far as can be surmised, his field of activities was in Eastern Bengal, where different places unauthoritatively claim to possess his mortal remains. We shall, afterwards, discuss in detail about the life and activities of this saint chiefly in connection with Bengal.

While Shaykh Farīd (as he is generally known in Bengal) was probably preaching in Eastern Bengal, another saint belonging to his own order was active in the western part of Bengal, and he was 'Abdullāh Kirmānī Bangālī of Bīrbhūm. He was a great preacher and famous disciple of Khwājah Muīnu'd-Dīn Chishti (1142-1236 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> He founded a new sub-order of his own, converted a considerable number of people to Islām and probably died before 1250 A.D.

The third great saint who followed the above two, was Shaykh Akhī Sirāju'd-Dīn Badāyūnī (d. 1357 A.D.). He was sent to

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliyā-i-Hind—Op. cit.* part. I. p. 103.

Bengal by his spiritual guide Nizāmu-'d-dīn Awliyā of Delhi (1236-1325 A.D.) for an avowed intention of propagating Islām in this country. After his arrival in Bengal in or about the year 1325 A.D., the year of his master's death, Akhi Sirāj faithfully discharged his duties entrusted to him by his master. When he died in 1357 A.D., he left behind him a long line of spiritual successors, who held aloft the banner of the Chishtī order in Bengal for generations to come.

3. **Qalandari** : The Sūfīs of Qalandariyah order (or sub-order as it may be called) was probably the next group of saints who entered Bengal. We know nothing definite about Qalandari order the activities of the Bengali Sūfīs of this order. The first man who introduced this order in Bengal was probably Shāh Safīu-'d-Dīn Shahīd of Pānduā in Hughly. He was a disciple of Bū Ālī Shāh Qalandar (d. 1324 A.D.) and came to Bengal from Delhi in the last part of the thirteenth century A.D. He fought with the then King of Pānduā and died between the year 1290-1295 A.D. An elaborate discussion on the activities of this saint will be given later on.

Then in connection with the description of 'Karāmāt' or miracles of Shaykh 'Alāu-'d-Dīn 'Alāu-'l-Haqq (d. 1398 A.D.), we hear about the entrance of the Qalandars into Bengal. It is said that a few Qalandars once visited his 'Khānaqāh' or monastery at Pānduā (Gaur). They had a pet cat with them, whose company they never parted with. By chance, the cat fled from the monastery and did not return to it. On this the Qalandars demanded its recovery from the saint who, when admitted his inability to do so, was sarcastically asked to bring it back to the monastery by his miraculous power. The saint then asked the Qalandars to suggest a few miraculous ways by which the cat could be recovered. The Qalandars suggested only two ways—one of them being its recovery from the horns of deer and the other being its bringing out from some parts of the Qalandar's own body. On this the saint cursed the two Qalandars, who suggested these two impossible means, to meet their death by accidents happening out of horns of an animal and of the part of his own body.

It is said that the two Qalandars died accordingly when leaving the monastery immediately after.<sup>1</sup> The story of death by accidents may be fictitious but the main story shows clearly two of the chief characteristics of the Qalandars, viz., their wandering habit<sup>2</sup> and their taming domestic animals. It is quite likely that they visited Bengal even as early as the last part of the fourteenth century A.D.

From this time onward, influx of the Qalandars was a chief feature of the Sufi movement in Bengal. During the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, they were no doubt found in almost all parts of Bengal and their activities surely overshadowed the activities of the other Sufis who came before them to represent their respective orders in Bengal. Their names were on the lips of every Bengali Hindu or Muslim. Their prominence and fame, their indomitable zeal and incessant activities were so well marked in the country that all classes of darvishes could easily go by the name of "*Qalandar*". In fact, in middle-Bengali literature Muslim darvishes have often been indicated by the word "*Qalandar*". The *Chandī Kāvya* (composed in 1584 A.D.) by Mukunda Rāma Kavikankaṇ is one of the representative books of middle-Bengali literature and in it we meet with such lines as the following :-

“আল কড়ি নাহি দাও নহ কলন্দর।”

“Rā Kaḍi nāhi dāo, naha qalandar”

“You do not pay the interest of the borrowed money; and you are not a Qalandar (to be exempted from that).”

“কলন্দর হয়্যা কেহ ফিরে দিবারাতি।”

“Qalandar hayyā keha fire dibarāti”

“Becoming a Qalandar, some of them (i. e. Muslims) wander about day and night”

From this it will be seen that the Qalandars of Bengal preserved their habit of wandering about, down to the time of Kavikankaṇ and after. A considerable number of Bengali manus-

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind- op. cit.*, part 1, p. 144.

2. *Dictionary of Islam*.—T. P. Hughes. 2nd. Ed., 1896, p. 119.

cripts chiefly written during the latter part of the seventeenth and first part of the eighteenth centuries by the Muslims of Eastern Bengal, in both Arabic and Bengali scripts, have come to our hands which mainly deal with SŪfī subjects under the heading of "*Yoga Qalandar*" or the Yoga practised by the Muslim dāryishes. We shall discuss the subject matter of these manuscripts later on.

4. *Madārī*: The next order, that was introduced into Bengal, was the order of the *Madārīs*. From the traditional account of *Shāh-i-Madār* (1315-1436 A.D.) that has been preserved by symbolic tombs and oral traditions in different parts of Bengal *Madārī* order, we are led to believe that this saint personally visited Bengal. *Madārīpūr* in Farīdpūr district and few villages, viz. *Madārbarī*, *Madārshā* etc., in the district of Chittagong, still bear their names after the names of this famous saint. People of Eastern and Northern Bengal, still perform an annual festive ceremony called the "*Madarer Bāḥ*" in honour of *Shāh-i-Madār*. He was a great traveller, a very successful preacher and a saint of great piety. He is said to have converted a good number of Hindus to Islam in Northern and Eastern Bengal. We do not know the exact duration of his stay in Bengal but the memory of his activities is still preserved in the traditions of Bengali Muslims.

However his mission in Bengal was carried on by his worthy spiritual successor *Shāh Allāh* of whom we know but little. *Shāh Allāh* was the only deputy (*Khalīfah*) who preached and kept alive the *Madārī* creed in Bengal after the departure of his master from this country. He was stationed at Gaur, the flourishing metropolis of Bengal and then known to be "*Shahr-i-Now*" or the New City.<sup>1</sup> Besides this, the activities of the *Madārīs* to the middle of the seventeenth century are not known. But it can be reasonably surmised that the order was still flourishing, though there are no records of its past activities.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, we meet with

1. *Mīrāt-i-Mādri*, Persian manuscript No. 88 ; Buhar Library, Calcutta.

the name of great Madārī saint named Shah Sulṭān Husayn Muriyah Barhinah, to whom Sultān Shah Shuj'a, the son of Shah-i-Jahān and governor of Bengal, granted a few special privileges by the execution of a 'Sanad' in the year 1658 A.D. This 'Sanad' is still preserved in the court at Rājshāhī. The nature of the privileges granted to the saint shows that he was quite a living influence on the Muslims of Bengal and Bihar.<sup>1</sup>

5. **Adhami** :- We have elsewhere noted that the founder of this order was Ibrahim-ibn-Adham (d.743 A.D.). We cannot precisely say when and by whom this order was first introduced into India ; but it is certain that this order was in existence in India during the fifteenth century A.D. Those who belonged to this order were known as 'Khidriyah'. We are acquainted with a class of Indian Sūfis who believed in Khidr order, the legendary Arabian saint Khidr.<sup>2</sup> Just as Hindu mythological saint Nārada is the messenger of the heavenly quarters to transmit celestial messages to the sages of the world, so also, the legendary Muslim saint Khidr acts as a messenger of God to this class of saints. He not only supplies them with heavenly information, but also rescues them from impending dangers, and directs them to the right course, if they become confounded. There are many examples of this nature recorded in connection with the lives of many Indian saints in the innumerable hagiologies. Most probably these Indian saints belonged to the 'Khidriyah' sub-order of the main Adhamiah order. Throughout the whole of Northern India, Khidr, the legendary saint of the Arabs, still has a strong hold on the masses.<sup>3</sup> This simply testifies to the vast influence of the Khidriyah sub-order on the people of Northern India. He has further become associated with the rivers and-seas, and as Khwajah Khidr, he has thus become the Muhammdan counterpart of the Hindu god Varuna.

1. J.A.S.B, Vol. LXXII, pt. III, No. 1, 1903, pp. 61-65.

2. For the legendary character of Khidr, vide Ency. Islam vol: II, "Khidr"; and Ency. Reli. and Ethics, vol. vii, article on "Khidr".

3. *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. W. Crooke, pp. 56-62.

In Bengal too, the influence of Khidr is not insignificant. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts situated on the banks of large rivers of Bengal, pay annual homage to Khidr by the celebration of a festival called "*Berā Bhāsān*" or the floating of rafts. The history of this festival can be traced as early as the fifteenth century A.D. and it will be seen from our elaborate discussion on this subject. From this it can be fairly presumed that the Khidriyah sub-order of the Indian Ṣūfīs had great influence on the people of Bengal, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, if not earlier.

6. Naqshbandī : The Naqshbandī order of Indian saints first came to Bengal during the life-time of Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thānī (1563-1624 A.D.), the great saint and reformer of India. So far as we know, the first Naqshbandī saint, who introduced this order into Bengal was Shaykh Hamid Dānishmand of Mangalkot, Burdwan. He was a contemporary with and a disciple of Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thānī. He was a "*Pir Bhāī*" (i.e. a fellow disciple of a *Pir*) and an intimate friend of the Mughal Emperor Shāh-i-Jahān, (1628-1658 A.D.) who erected a mosque near the grave of the saint in the year 1654 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Probably the saint died within one or two years before the date of erection of the mosque near his grave.

The influence of the Nashbandīs on the Muslims of Bengal is of very recent origin, beginning only from the seventeenth century A.D. The late entry of this order into Bengal is perhaps the cause of its failure as a popular Ṣūfī creed.

7. Qadiri :- The next and probably the last order was the order of the Qādirīs, which was, in all probability, introduced into the province not before the sixteenth century. The earliest Ṣūfī belonging to this order was probably Ḥaḍrat Shāh Qamīṣ. He was one of the descendants of 'Abdul Qādir of Jilān, the founder of the Qādirī order. He came to Bengal and settled in Sālār (*Salurah*) where he died in 1584 A.D. He was a great preacher and a

1. Vide text of the inscription quoted in connection with the elaborate discussion on the life of this Saint.



successful propagandist. He made many disciples and many deputies in different parts of the country and his followers are known as the "*Qamisiyah*" darvishes. On his death, he was succeeded by Sayyad 'Abdu-'r-Razzāq, one of his famous disciples and deputy (*Khalifah*).

During the reign of Aurangzib, (1656-1707 A.D.) Qadiri order gained considerable popularity in Northern India and it is quite likely that during this time this order became popular in Bengal too.

These are the chief orders that were successively introduced into Bengal by the Sufis of Northern India. There might have been others, but as yet, we know nothing precisely about them.

Sufism in Bengal being a continuation of Sufism in Northern India, generally followed a line of development along the line of its flow from the fountain. But local conditions, customs beliefs and practices often modified it to a certain extent. As the time rolled by modifications began to increase so much so that it almost changed its colour during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Taking the general line of Sufi thought into consideration, we may classify the Sufis into the following periods:-

1. Early Period—12th to the 14th Centuries.
2. Middle Period—15th to the 17th centuries.
3. Last Period—18th to the 19th centuries

1. Early Period : This was the period of the spread of Islām in Bengal from Northern India. Almost all of the Sufis of Bengal belonging to this age were the disciples of Suhrawardī and Chishtī Sufis of Northern India, Khwājah Mu'inu'd-Dīn Chishtī (1142-1236), Qutbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (1142-1236), Sharafu'd-Dīn Bu 'Alī Qalandar (d.1324), Bahāu'd-Dīn Dhakriyā Multānī (1169-1266), Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā (1236-1325) etc. were the leading Sufis of Northern India, who inspired and directed their prominent disciples to visit Bengal and preach Islām there. The first Sufi preachers of Bengal were members of different Sufi orders, and

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliyā-i-Hind*, op. cit., part. III, p. 27.

they were not, as it seems, mystics, who preferred contemplation to action,—rather were militant propagators of Islām. There was a certain amount of religious asceticism in them and a strong scorn for worldly concerns and the earnestness of a good many of these preachers, plus their reputation for divine powers certainly drew people around them. The maladjustment of Hindu society was also an aid to their activities. These Sūfīs were telling their beads and exhorting and preaching Islām by denouncing infidelity; and when the opportunity came, they put themselves at the head of invading Muslim armies, and helped them demolish temples often used as military shelters and build mosques in their places.

There was not much time to settle down quietly to a life of meditation, and to understand and appreciate the Hindu environment and be influenced by it. It was a time for the propagation of Islām, and the Sūfīs were busy with the rapid expansion of their faith among the masses. They had neither the time for internal development of this or that doctrine, nor could they avail of any opportunity for bringing about a fusion of Sufism with Hindu Yoga etc.

Though from the view point of fusion of Hindu and Muslim thoughts and beliefs, this period is predominantly isolated in character, yet it was not entirely so. It witnessed the birth of new sub-orders in Bengal. These sub-orders were not very different from the parent orders, yet they were no doubt much influenced by local conditions. Fulfilment of the local needs and incorporation of local customs and beliefs, led to the formation of sub-orders in India and such was also the case in Bengal. It is thus very likely that the ideas, beliefs and practices of Bengal in the field of religion began to find a place in Sufism.

2. **Middle Period :** This was a period of steady consolidation of Muslim thought and of gradual accommodation of local influence in Bengal. The stimulating political atmosphere created by the independent Sultāns of Bengal gave ample opportunities to the Sūfīs to settle down permanently in the various parts of the country and to come in close contact with the people. A regular and frequent interchange of ideas took place between the intelligentsia (as well as the masses of the country) and the

Šufis, resulting in the impact of Yoga, Tantra, etc., on the Šufi life and practices and in the fusion of Islāmic and Šufistic ideas in the realm of public thought. The masses were imperfectly Islāmised and a reaction of Hinduism on Islām of Bengal started, as a result of which, a distinct "Popular Islām" sprang up within a century and a half. Absorption of Hindu (and along with it local) beliefs, practices and superstitions was the main feature of this "Popular Islām". Men like Kabīr, Nānak, Dādu, Chaitanya, Akbar, Dāra Shikūh and others who were the real prophets of Indian and Islāmic cultural fusion seem to have no mean shares in the formation of this "Popular Islām" in Bengal as well as in other parts of India. Along with the birth of a "Popular Islām", everywhere an atmosphere of toleration grew up among the Hindus and Muslims. The cultural fusion of Hinduism and Islām in Bengal soon paved the way to the growth of Vaisnab, Āul, Baul, Kartābhajā, Dhikr, Faqīr and similar other sects, which had both Hindu and Muslim adherents.

Involvement of Bengali Šufis in the politics of the country was another feature of this age. The militant spirit of the early Šufis seems to be transformed into the spirit of diplomacy and statesmanship. Almost all of the independent Sultāns of Bengal were the disciples of one or other of the darvishes, prominent in the public eye. Some of the Sultāns had their family *Pīrs* who for generations together exerted an influence on them quite similar to the influence of the Hindu "*Kulagurus*" or family-preceptors on their "*Śiṣyas*" or disciples. These family *Pīrs* were, as if living divine forces to inspire the Sultāns and their soldiers on the moment of despair and to bless them on the occasion of war waged against the neighbouring unbelievers. Such spiritual connections of the Bengali Šufis with the political head of the country gave them a unique opportunity to involve themselves in political affairs of the country. It was conclusively proved in the case of conversion of Jadu (Jalālu'd-Dīn), the son of Rājā Gaṇeś (1409-1414 A. D.) that a great political power could then be exercised by a Bengali darvish. Even before this, Sikandar Shah (1358-89) imperilled his life for interment of the

deadbody of his Pir Shaykh Raḍā Biyabānī, who died during the time of his confinement in the fortress of Ekdālā.

3. **Last Period :** From the latter part of the Middle Period, signs were not wanting to prognosticate the early advent of this period. It was a period of decay and corrosion and of moral and spiritual degradation of the Bengali Šufis. The whole religious life of the Bengali Muslims was thoroughly effected by the environment under which it was living. Popular beliefs, esoteric practices, local superstitions and many other similar things emasculated Islām to such an extent that Islām lost almost all its former vigour. Such condition of Islām was greatly deplored by a class of puritanic Muslims, who launched reformatory movements from the beginning of the nineteenth century. We shall discuss this phase of Islām later on.

The practices of "*Pīrī-Murīdī*" ( i.e. of making disciples by the Pīrs ) was so very accentuated during this period that the whole mystic creed of the Šufis had to give way to it. Muslims began to believe that initiation to a *Pīr* is absolutely binding (*farḍ*) on them, and a man dying without being initiated was sure to go to hell and suffer from an eternal perdition. Such a belief gradually gave birth to a polytheistic devotion in the minds of the people and they began to give votive offerings to Pīrs dead or alive. Graves of the departed saints turned out to be the places of worship with offerings of flowers, vermillion and other articles generally used in the Hindu ceremonies or "*Pujās*". Such a deviated form of "*Pīrī-Murīdī*" in the Šufism of Bengal grew up as a result of the influence of a worst form of Guruvāda which was then prevalent among the Hindus of Bengal and India.

From the chronological point of view, we have just now discussed briefly the main characteristics of Šufism in Bengal. But our survey does not warrant us to arrange its history in chronological order for more than one reason. First of all, we have not yet been able to ascertain with perfect precision many dates in connection with the lives of Bengali as well as non-Bengali Šufis. The conclusions we have arrived at here and there, are generally based on few materials, including history,

tradition, inscriptions, and general impressions. They may not always be very conclusive and satisfactory. In this sense, the present history is only a tentative one which does not claim to shut the door of further research against abler scholars, yet to come to this field of Muslim thought in Bengal. Secondly, the influence of every prominent Sufi of Bengal seems to transcend the limit of his own age. Due to the want of any connected history, we have not yet been able to discover the influence of these famous Sufis of Bengal on the Sufis of coming generations. They were, as if, some isolated figures working vigorously in their own line and on their own responsibility. The movement, they launched, seems to die a natural death after their demise and then another batch came and started the movement afresh. But the case was not definitely so. Thirdly, the activities of the Sufis of Bengal were mostly of more local character, than a wider one. The places of their settlement and those lying around them, were probably the field of their activities. This local character, does not encourage us to arrange their history, in any chronological order.

Under these circumstances, is it not advisable to arrange this history in the order of their localities where their activities were chiefly confined? Hence, we have decided to follow the following arrangement :

- (i) Varendra Centre :- Māldah, Dinājpur, Rangpur, Purnā, and Rājmaḥal and its surrounding places.
- (ii) Rādhā Centre :- Burdwan, Midnapur, Hugly, Bīrbhūm, and Bānkurā.
- (iii) Vanga Centre :- Mymensing, Pabna, Bogrā, Rājshāhī, Dacca, Faridpur and Bākharganj.
- (iv) Chaṭṭālā Centre :- Chittagong, Tippera, Noakhālī and Sylhet.

It should be mentioned here that our present nomenclature of the centres, is not very closely connected with the ancient divisions of Bengal bearing those names. The places, included in the centres will testify to it. For the convenience of understanding the activities of a number of saints in the certain localities, best indicated and represented by these names, we stick the label of ancient nomenclature to these centres.

## Chapter VII

### History of the Sūfis of Bengal Varendra Centre.

The centre comprises the districts of Māldah, Rangpur, Dinājpur, Purniā and Rājmahal and surrounding places. Though Purniā and Rājmahal are not now within the boundaries of Bengal, they were so, when the Muslim preachers were just coming to the province in the wake of the Turkish conquest. Gaur and Pānduā in the district of Māldah were not only the metropolitan cities of Bengal from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, but they were also great seats of Islāmic learning and culture and centres of Muslim Darvishes who and whose followers, preached Islām and the doctrines of the Sūfis in the surrounding tracts of land.

It is meet and proper to mention at the outset that this is the most important centre of Bengal with regard to the historicity of its saints. It seems that the activities of the first Muslim preachers generally known as Darvishes in this tract are chronicled more satisfactorily than of those in other tracts, and the document that we have, are entitled at least to a partial credence in the working out a history.

The Darvishes of this centre enhanced the prestige of the Muslims of Bengal, by their piety, education, culture and activities which attracted the respectful attention of the people of Northern India to Bengal. Some of the early Muslim religious men of this tract of Varendra had a reputation which was not confined to Bengal, but travelled beyond the frontiers of the province to Northern India and we hear from the *Aīn*, *Tadhkirah* and other histories, of their having disciples from such distant places as Lucknow, Delhi and Gujrat. This no doubt enhanced the prestige of Muslim Bengal outside the province.

### 1. Makhdūm Shaykh Jalālu-'d-Dīn Tabrīzī ( d. 1225 A.D. ).

The earliest of the Śufīs of Varendra Centre was Makhdūm Shaykh Jalālu-'d-Dīn Tabrīzī. He came to Bengal before the Turki conquest of the country, settled in Pāpduā in Shaykh Jalālu- the district of Māldah and died there in the year -'d-Dīn Tabrīzī 1225 A.D. He ranked with the eminent saints of (d. 1225 A.D.) India and belonged to the Suhrawardī order of Darvishes. But, in view of his unique importance as one of the pioneers of Śufī movement in Bengal, his life requires an especial treatment in a book like the present one. One could make a brief sketch of the life of the saint mentioning the following most essential points in his career.

Makhdūm Shaykh Jalālu-'d-Dīn Tabrīzī was a Northern Indian saint. He is said to have been born and brought up in the district of Itawa in the United Province.<sup>1</sup> This may sound strange to those who know that the Persian title like "*Tabrīzī*" indicates the name of the birth-place of the man who uses it. It is, therefore, necessary to sound a note of warning against the literal acceptance of this title. Neither the *Ain*, nor the *Flīḡhtah*, nor *Riyāḡ* says anything about the birth-place of this saint. Silence of the authors of these histories on this point indicates two things: either they were not aware of the name of his actual birth-place or they, being misled by his title, took it for granted that he was an inhabitant of the city of Tabrīz in Persia and hence it was thought unnecessary to mention the place of his birth.

Here only "*Śeka Śubhodayā*"—a dog-Sanskrit historical romance, written in not later than the sixteenth century A.D., can solve this puzzling problem by its definite assertion that the saint was born in the Kingdom of Aṭṭava.<sup>2</sup> If he really were an Indian,

1. *Śeka Śubhodaya* ( dog-Sanskrit )—Edited by Dr. Sukumar Sen ( Calcutta University )—Hīṣīkēś Series No. II, Chapter. VI, p. 31 and vide Editor's Introduction.

2. This "Kingdom of Aṭṭava" has not been satisfactorily identified. It is evidently some place in Northern India—the cerebral "ṭa" sound in the name may be taken to suggest that it is Indian. It has, however, been identified with the district of 'Itawa' in the United Province (present Uttar Pradesh), though this is by no means certain.

how could he use the place-indicating title *Tabrīzī* ? It should be remembered that such titles in India still do not absolutely indicate the exact birth-places of the men who use them. As for example, there are still many Muslims in Bengal who use the place-indicating titles of "*Ghaznavī*", "*Shirāzī*" etc. They surely do not mean thereby that they were born in *Ghaznī* or in *Shirāz*. Always there was and still there is a class of Muslims in India who think it honourable and dignified to use such old titles as an indication of their ancestor's foreign descent. In the case of *Jalālu'd-Dīn Tabrīzī*, similar would appear to have been the case. Hence, in spite of his title "*Tabrīzī*" he may be taken as an Indian, if the testimony of the "*Śeka*" be true.

No Persian or Urdu hagiology gives any account of the early life of this saint. The "*Śeka Subhodayā*" records a romantic account of the saint's life and sheds some light on this point. We come to know from this book that his father who was named *Kāfur* sent him to school while he was only five years old. He was a very intelligent and meritorious student whom his teacher loved much for his merit. As his father was a man of slender means, he had not wealth enough to spare for his son's education. His father, therefore, requested his teacher to make provision for the free education of his son. Accordingly the teacher recommended the boy to one *Ramaḍān*, a rich merchant of the locality, for bearing educational expenses of the boy. *Jalālu'd-Dīn* came to live with his benefactor. A short while after, the merchant went out on a long trading tour and did not come back until twelve years. The merchant had a young daughter named *'Ayeshah* who, in the meantime, grew up and fell in love with *Jalālu'd-Dīn* without his knowledge. Her parents too had no knowledge of their daughter's attachment. Blame of incontinence towards *Jalālu'd-Dīn*. It is said that one day *'Ayeshah* entered the study of *Jalāl* and wooed him. He put on him. him love which he sternly refused. The love of the young girl for this serious student might have a delightful romance, but *Jalāl's* educational pre-occupations and the burning passion of the youthful girl brought about an enactment of



the scene between Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Yusuf and Zolekhā of Islamic tradition) and innocent Jalāl was accused by the slighted damsel of an indecent conduct shown to her. Consequently Jalāl was driven out of the merchant's house and also from the school. The merchant further demanded from Jalāl's parents the full expense of the last twelve years. The poor parents, being afraid of the payment, fled from their house to some unknown destination. Thus being deprived of shelter in the world, Jalāl repaired to the hill of Ratnasekhara situated near Ratnadvīpa(?)<sup>1</sup>.

So far, the story is very human with the dash of a marvel at the end and upto the journey to the Island of Jewels (Ratnadvīpa). But in many Persian histories, we find it stated that Jalāl was accused falsely of crime against an immoral woman. Thus the *Ain*<sup>2</sup> informs us that while Jalāl-u'-d-Dīn Tabrizī reached Delhi, "Shaykh Najmu'-d-Dīn Sughrā, who was *Shaykh-u'-l-Islām* (i.e. the ecclesiastical head of an Islamic state), of Testimony of his Delhi, bore enmity against him and maliciously tory with regard incited a disreputable woman to accuse the Shaykh to this blame. of incontinence. Through the miraculous power of Shaykh Bahā-u'-d-Dīn Dhakriyā, the falsehood of the charge was established". Exactly this story has been elaborately and romantically related in the *Tadhkirah*.<sup>3</sup> From these sources we further come to know that after the full vindication of Tabrizī's honour and prestige in Delhi, he left for Bengal. When he reached Bengal, "He sat down by the side of a stream to rest, but then suddenly rose and performed his ablution. In explanation, he said to those about him that he was saying prayers for the *Shaykh-u'-l-Islām* who had just died, and subsequently this turned out to be a fact"<sup>4</sup> *Tadhkirah* informs us that on his way to Bengal, he stayed at Badāyūn for sometime and the above incident of saying funeral prayer for *Shaykh-u'-l-Islām* took place there.<sup>5</sup>

1. *Seka Subhhdāya*, chap VI, pp. 31-34.

2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III,—Jarrett, p. 366.

3. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind op. cit.*

4. *Memoris of Gaur and Pandua* K. S. 'Abid 'Ali. (Ed. by H.E. Stepleton). Calcutta\* p. 99.

5. *Tadhkitah-i-Awliya-i-Hind op. cit.*, part. I, p. 55.

In the above two versions of the same story, connected with the blame of committing adultery by Jalālu-'d-Dīn Tabrizī, one version comes from the historical side, while the other, from the side of a Sanskrit historical romance. Of these two versions, the *Śeka Śubhodayā's* one is more plausible as it gives details which have a semblance of truth. Besides, in the *Śeka Śubhodayā* version, there appears to be no set purpose of vindicating the saint in any way in this connection.

To follow the narration of the *Śeka Śubhodayā* once again, it seems probable that he spent a long time in devotion and ascetic practices at a certain place outside the pale of human activity. Thus, the early devotional training of the saint was not known to anybody. After the completion of his preparation for this high calling, he came out from the place of his wanderings. his devotion and travelled to different foreign lands known as centres of Śūfī culture. In the course of his wanderings, he visited Mecca, Medina, Baghdād, Tabriz, Khhwārijam, Multān, Delhi and other places in India. At Tabriz, he became the disciple of one Abū Sa'īd of that place<sup>1</sup> and in Baghdād, he served the renowned Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn Suhrawardī with utmost zeal, humility, and submissiveness for a long time. As a reward of his long service, Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn conferred on him the coveted office of vicegerent (*Khirqah-i-Khilāfat*).<sup>2</sup> At Multān, he lived with his fellow disciple and fast friend Shaykh Bahā'u-'d-Dīn Dhakriyā, where Khwājah Quṭbu-'d-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī met them both on his way to India.<sup>3</sup>

From the testimony of different histories, we definitely come to know that Jalālu-'d-Dīn Tabrizī visited four successive places, viz. Multān, Delhi, Badāyūn and Bengal in the course of his itinerary in Northern India, and that Delhi was the starting place of his journey to Bengal. This Northern Indian tour of the saint has a bearing on the ascertainment of the date of his entrance into

1. *Ain, op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 366.

2. (i) *Khurshid-i-Jahān Numa* (Persian MSS., Buhār Library, Calcutta) Ilāhi Bakhsh. (vide Translated extracts in the J. A. S. B, 1895).

(ii) *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua op. cit.*, p. 99.

3. *Ain, op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 366, Firishta, chap. XII, *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind*, pp. 26-27.

Bengal. On the authority of *Siyaru'l-Awliya* or the hagiology of the saints, *Tadhkirah* records that when Qutbu-'d-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī heard of the settlement of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Din Chishtī in Ajmir (1193 A. D.), he at once started for India from Baghdād, where he had been living for the last few months, intending to meet with his spiritual guide. On his way to India, he stayed for a few days at Multān where he met with Bahā'u-'d-Din Dhakriyā and Jalālu-'d-Din Tabrizī, both of whom became his fast friends within a very short time. From Multān, Kākī went to Delhi where he stayed for a few days and thence he started for Ajmir to meet with Chishtī.<sup>1</sup> From this we come to know one thing definitely and that is the date of Tabrizī's return and stay at Multān. Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Din Chishtī settled in Ajmir in the year 1193 A. D.<sup>2</sup> Therefore Kākī must have met his spiritual guide in Ajmir after the year 1193 A. D., and the question is,—how many years after? Due consideration being given for the news of Chishtī's final settlement in Ajmir to reach Baghdād and for the time of Kākī's arrival at Multān from Baghdād on the receipt of that news, we would think, two years were quite sufficient even in those days of difficult transport. Therefore, we can fairly presume that Kākī met with Tabrizī at Multān not later than 1195 A.D.

Jalālu-'d-Din Tabrizī's movement in Northern India was very rapid. From Multān he went to Delhi and from Delhi he started for Bengal. On his way, he lived at Badāyūn for sometime. He then left Badāyūn for Bengal and Bengal before when he reached the country he is said to have 1200 A.D. prayed the funeral prayer of Shaykh-u'l-Islām of Delhi on the river side where he halted for rest. From the testimony of "*Śeka Śubhodaya*" we come to know that his arrival in Bengal took place in the Śaka year 1124, correspon-

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind*, op. cit., pt. I, p. 26.

2. We have already mentioned in the first chapter that 1193 A. D. is the date of *Ain*. In other histories date of Chishtī's settlement in Ajmir is 1165 A.D. If the latter date be true, then Kākī must have met Tabrizī at Multān not later than 1167 A.D.

ding to 1202 A.D.<sup>1</sup> But this date cannot be taken as true without much caution for reasons adduced by the learned editor. In spite of all valuable proofs, brought out by him against the acceptance of this date (1202 A.D.), one becomes naturally inclined—if he once go through the text—to come to a general conclusion that Tabrīzī came to Bengal, during the reign of Rājā Lakṣmaṇa Sena, whose reign terminated in or about the year 1200 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Thus, we may conclude that Tabrīzī came to Bengal sometime between the year 1195 A.D. and year 1200 A.D.

Jalālu-'d-Dīn Tabrīzī reached Bengal before 1200 A.D. i.e. before the Turkī conquest of the country. Lakṣmaṇa Sena was then reigning in Bengal. After his arrival, he worked various miracles common to Darvishes of his type. The “*Šeka Šubhodayā*” relates a series of such miracles which need not be noted here. It is said that his miracles convinced Lakṣmaṇa Sena and his famous minister Halāyudha Mīrā, of his great spiritual attainments. The “*Šeka Šubhodayā*” says that the king ordered a mosque to be built for him and many villages granted for the maintenance of the mosque and monastery in Pān-

A brief account duḥ.<sup>3</sup> No information about the activities of Jalālu- of his activities 'd-Dīn Tabrīzī in Bengal has been recorded in any in Bengal. Persian or Urdu work. The “*Šeka Šubhodayā*” is the

only book that deals elaborately with these. Yet the casual remarks of Persian and Urdu hagiologies regarding his activities in Bengal, are, in our opinion important; because they will strengthen the ground of those facts related in “*Šeka Šubhodayā*”. Important facts of Persian histories have been strung together in Urdu *Tadhkirah-i-Awliyā-i-Hind*, and we quote its account here: “When Jalālu-'d-Dīn Tabrīzī reached Bengal, he attracted the attention of all and a monastery was built for him. He purchased lands to plant gardens thereon and then he dedicated the property by way of “*Waqf*”, so that thousands of travellers and permanent residents of the place (*muqīm*) might be maintained.

1. *Seka Šubhodaya*—*op. cit.*—Introduction, p. XXXV and note of the learned editor, P. 170.
2. *Bāṅlār Itihās*, Vol. II,—Rakhaldas Banerji. pp. 15-18.
3. *Seka Šubhodaya*—*op. cit.*—Chapter. I, & XVIII.

There had been a few ancient temples in that place. He demolished them by his miracles and erected a mosque in that very place and all the worshippers in the temples were converted to Islām'.<sup>1</sup>

The above account is supported by the following : "The saint acquired considerable property in Panduā and elsewhere in Bengal, e.g. Deotalā and this estate, which is known as "Baia Hāzārī" (twenty-two thousand), is still held by a "mutawallī" for the benefit of "faqirs" and the poor. When Shāh Jalāl came to Bengal he began to destroy idols and the numerous *Chilla Khānahs*"<sup>2</sup> of the saint probably indicate the actual sites of former Hindu temples"<sup>3</sup>.

Jalālu'd-Dīn Tabrizī seems to have been a man of charitable disposition; quite liberal in feeding the poor. He treated the poor with great consideration.<sup>4</sup> The testimony of his activity is also in his favour : "He kept a '*langar Khānah*' (i.e. guest-house) where he housed and fed beggars and travellers"<sup>5</sup>. In this way, by his wonderful miracles, enthusiastic preaching and lavish charity, he won the hearts of people and attracted them to his own side. He preached in Bengal more than twenty years and converted hundreds of people to Islām.

As to the date of Jalālu'd-Dīn Tabrizī's death there is no agreement in two accounts. According to *Khūrshīd-i-Jahān Numā*, he died in 738 in A. H. or 1337 A. D. Without any authority Blochmann has noted down 1244 A. D. as the year of his death.<sup>6</sup> The *Ain* and *Firishtah* 1225 A. D. are silent on this point. Mr. H. E. Stapleton suggests 1346 or 1347 A. D. to be the probable date of the saint's death.<sup>7</sup> The *Tadhkirah* records the date of his demise to be 622 A. H. corresponding to 1225 A. D.<sup>8</sup>

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind*, op. cit., pt. 1, p. 56.

2. *Chilla Khānahs* are places where saints spend successively forty days and nights in fast, prayer and other devotional exercises.

3. *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua* op. cit., p. 99.

4. *Seka Subhodaya*, op. cit., Chapter XVII

5. Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal—H. Blochmann. (Cal. 1873), p. 52.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Memoirs of Gaur Pandua*, op. cit., p. 100. (Foot note).

8. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind* op. cit., pt. I, p. 56.

Amongst all these conflicting dates which one seems to be correct? The date (1337 A. D.) noted down by the author of *Khūrshīd* is said to be based on a Persian chronogram<sup>1</sup> disappeared during the life time of the author.<sup>2</sup> It may easily be understood that the author put down the chronogram from the oral evidences of the people. So its value as a historical document, is very little, especially when there are other historical evidences against it. Is it not *prima facie* impossible to think of a man living up to 1337 A. D., who was a contemporary (not the younger contemporary) with such eminent Sūfis as *Shaykh Shihābu'-d-Dīn Suhrawardī* (1147-1234), *Quṭbu'-d-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī* (1142-1236) and *Shaykh Bahā'u'-d-Dīn Dhakriyā Multānī* (1169-1266)? For the similar reason, we can reject the dates as suggested by the author of the *Khūrshīd Jahān Numā* and others who followed his suit. In the absence of sufficient authority to support Blochmann, we cannot attach any importance to the date, he has recorded. *Tadhkirah* is a history, representative of all available Persian hagiologies of India and hence, the date that is recorded in it, is probably true. It is the year 1225 A. D. and this date is moreover much nearer to the date of the *Seka Subhodayā*, according to which *Jalālu'-d-Dīn Tabrīzī* left Bengal in the year 620 A. H. = 1223 A. D.<sup>3</sup> The fact of the saint's quittal from Bengal, is a matter of grave doubt and probably His burial in Pandua. For this reason, there are differences of opinion regarding the location of his tomb. But most of the historians hold the view that the saint died in Bengal and was buried in Pandua.

*Jalālu'-d-Dīn Tabrīzī* seems to have left behind him a long line of spiritual successors who held out the torch of Sūfism in

1. The chronogram runs thus : جلال الدین جلال الله جلال عارفان بود  
"Jalālu'-d-Dīn was the glory of God and the glory of the saints".  
The value of the Persian characters of the chronogram is 738. This indicates Hijri and the corresponding A. D. 1337.
2. *Seka Subhodaya op. cit.*, Chapter, XXXIV,
3. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

Bengal after his death ; but we know nothing about them. Yet, it is more than certain that he was spiritually succeeded by his disciples in Bengal. In the last part of the seventeenth century, we hear of one of his disciples named Sa'dullāh who erected a building called the *Tannūr Khānah* or the Kitchen, dedicated to the sacred memory of the saint. From the inscription of this building, we come to know that it was built by Jalāl's disciple Sa'dullāh in 1093 A.H.=1682 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

2. Shaykh Akhī Sirāju-d-Dīn Badāyūnī. ( d. 1357 A.D. )

Born at Badāyūn in Oudh, he went while still a boy to Sultānu'l-Mashā'ikh Nizāmu'-d-Dīn Awliyā Of Delhi ( 1236-1325 A.D. ) who recognized a future greatness in the boy from his early life and allowed him to live with him. The boy captivated the heart of the great saint by his gentle habit, his good conduct and his amiable presence.

Nizāmu'-d-Dīn Awliyā placed him under the care of Mawlānā Fakhru'-d-Dīn Zarrādī (d. 1327 A.D.) for his education. Under the instruction of the learned Mawlānā the boy soon turned out to be a profound scholar in many subjects within a very short time. When Akhī finished his education and commission, Nizāmu'-d-Dīn Awliyā conferred on him the title of *Khirqah-i-Khilāfat* or the cloak of spiritual succession and commissioned him to go to Bengal for the propagation of Islām.<sup>2</sup>

But, Akhī could not manage to start for Bengal, before Nizāmu'-d-Dīn's death in the year 1325 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

When Akhī reached Bengal, he chose Lakhnauti or Gaur as his permanent residence, and soon many Sultāns of Gaur became his disciples.<sup>4</sup> It is not mentioned, who among these Sultāns were. Mawlāwī 'Abdu's-Salām, M.A., Sultān of Bengal, the translator of *Riyāḍ*, has mentioned only one name, Shamsu'-d-Dīn Ilyās Shāh (1339-1358) who was contemporary with Akhī.<sup>5</sup> 'Alī'u'-d-Dīn 'Alī Shāh (1339-1345)

1. *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua, op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

2. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliyā-i-Hind, op. cit.*, pt. I, p. 112.

3. *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua, op. cit.*, p. 91.

4. Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal, Blochmann (1873), p. 52.

5. *Riyāḍu's-Salāṭīn* (Bibliotheca Indica)—T r. 'Abdu's-Salam

too was his another contemporary. The story connected with this Sultān, of obtaining the throne of Bengal through the blessings of Jalālu'-d-Dīn Tabrizī in a dream<sup>1</sup> speaks of his reverence for the saints. Probably, these two Sultāns were amongst Akhī's devoted disciples.

Akhī Sirāju'-d-Dīn was undoubtedly held in high estimation of the public and his master's conferring the title of His death "Aynah-i-Hindustān" or the Mirror of India<sup>2</sup> on him 1357 A.D. is a sufficient indication of it. According to authentic accounts, he died in Gaur in 1357 A. D., and was buried there. His tomb in Gaur is still a famous shrine for the pilgrims coming from different parts of Northern India including Bengal.

### 3. Shaykh 'Alā'u'-d-Dīn 'Alā'u'-l-Haqq ( d. 1398 A. D. ).

His father 'Umar bin As'ad Khālīdī was an inhabitant of Lahore and a descendent of the famous Arab general Khālīd bin Walīd. He migrated to Pānduā probably with an intention like other Muslim seekers of wealth to make His pedigree, and early life his fortune in Bengal which was then newly conquered by the Turks. Fortune smiled on him as she smiled on almost all of the Muslim immigrants in Bengal, and within a few years, he became a wealthy man in the city of Gaur. Here his renowned son 'Alā'u'-l-Haqq was born. 'Alā'u'-l-Haqq was given an excellent education in all branches of learning and in course of time became a very learned scholar.

"It has been recorded that Shaykh 'Alā'u'-d-Dīn was a very proud man. By reason of the pomp of wealth, he used to style him as "*Ganj-i-nabāt*" or the Lord of Wealth. The news that there was a learned and wealthy man in Bengal, who styled himself as "*Ganj-i-nabāt*" reached Sultānu'-l-Masha'ikh Nizāmu'-d-Dīn

1. *Riyāzu's-Salāṭīn* ( Bibliotheca Indica ), tr. 'Abdu's-Salam, pp. 97-98.

2. (i) *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind*, op. cit., pt. I, p. 112.

(ii) *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, op. cit., p. 91.

(iii) *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal*—Blochmann ( 1873 ), p. 52.



Awliya (d. 1325 A.D.). Hearing this, he became angry because of the fact that while his "Pir" styled himself as "*Ganj-i-Shakr*" or the Lord of Sugar, this man, in order to Story of a curse supersede him, was styling him as "*Ganj-i-nabāt*". on him. So, he cursed him to be dumb. This curse came true and 'Alā'u'l-Haqq became dumb. When he became a disciple of Akhī Sirāju'd-Dīn, he regained his lost power of speech".<sup>1</sup>

After this incident, began his real saintly life. He built a monastery in Pānduā and lived there a dedicated His liberality life. In this monastery, he provided the poor, travellers and exile. and students with food and lodging. This act of liberality and hospitality entailed on him a huge expenditure which, it is said, he defrayed from an invisible source.<sup>2</sup> It is further said that his unlimited liberality overshadowed the liberality of the Sultān of Pānduā and this is why Sikandar Shāh (1358-1389 A.D.) banished him to Sonārgāon where he lived for two years as an exile, more enthusiastically practising His death his traditional liberality than before. After two 1398 A.D. years, he was recalled from Sonārgāon to Pānduā, where he died, according to the authentic accounts, in the year 1398 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

"It is said that when Hadrat 'Ala'u'l-Haqq died Makhdum Jahāniyān Jahāngasht appeared at Pānduā and performed the "Janāzah" (funeral prayer) ceremony for the saint".<sup>4</sup>

Here we are at a loss to understand, how this was possible? Makhdum Jahāniyān died on Thursday, 2nd February, 1383 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind*, op. cit., pt. I, p. 143.

2. (i) *Op. cit.*, part. I, pp. 143-144.

(ii) *Contributions*, etc. op. cit., p. 53.

3. (i) *Contributions*, etc. op. cit., p. 53.

(ii) *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind*, op. cit., pt. III, p. 144.

4. (i) *Tadhkirah*, op. cit.,—pt. III, p. 148.

(ii) *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, p. 109.

5. *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. III, Jarrett, p. 369.

and 'Alā'u-'l-Ḥaqq died in the year 1398 i.e. he died 15 years after the death of Mākhdūm Jahāniyān. But from the traditional account still preserved in Rangpūr,<sup>1</sup> we are led to believe that Mākhdūm Jahāniyān once visited Bengal during his lifetime. It is probable that he once met with 'Alā'u-'l-Ḥaqq in Pāndua before his death in 1383 A. D. and the interview of these two great saints was commemorated by the erection of the "Jahāniyān" mosque in 1535 A.D.<sup>2</sup> In the subsequent ages, this interview might have taken the miraculous colour in the above story.

'Alā'u-'l-Ḥaqq was a great saint. He had a large following here in Bengal and in other parts of India. Among his disciples (*Murīds*) and deputies (*Khalīfahs*) Shaykh Nūru-'d-Dīn Qutb-i-'Ālam his son and spiritual successor in Bengal, Shaykh Nasīru-'d-Dīn of Mānikpūr, Mīr Sayyad Ashraf Jāhāngīr of Samnān (d. 1405) were famous.

Nasīru-'d-Dīn preached Islām in and around Mānikpūr (Kodā) in Bihār.<sup>3</sup> Being the son of a King, Mīr Ashraf abdicated the throne, preferred the saintly life and became a disciple of 'Alā'u-'l-Ḥaqq who ordered him to preach Islām in Jaunpūr. He travelled through many parts of India and came in contact with many "*Sannāyīs*" (i.e. Hindu saints) who, being discomfited by his miracles, had to accept his faith with all of their followers.

1. At Mahiganj in the district of Rangpur, there is a tomb of one Shāh Jalāl Bukhārī. General impression of the old men of that locality is that the saint came there some three to four hundred years ago, preached Islām and left the place. His tomb was left neglected for centuries being over-grown with jungles. But very recently, one Afgnullah of obscure origin discovered, we are told, the tomb at the instance of the saint in dream.

This Shāh Jalāl Bukhārī of Mahiganj should not be identified with Shāh Jalāl of Sylhet who was an inhabitant of Yaman and of whom we shall discuss later on. When from the source of Persian histories, we come to know that Mākhdūm Jahāniyān Jāhān Gāht Bukhārī once visited Bengal and that his real name was Jalālu-'d-Dīn we may identify this Shāh Jalāl Bukhārī with Mākhdūm Jahāniyān.

2. *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, op. cit., p. 92.
3. *Tadhkrah-i-Awliya-Hind*, op. cit., pt. I, p. 143.

He died in the year 1405 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

4. Shaykh Nūru'-d-Dīn Qutb-i-'Ālam. ( d. 1415 A. D. ).

He was the son and spiritual successor of his father Shaykh 'Alā'u'-l-Haqq. According to the *Aīn*<sup>2</sup> he was born in Lahore—a fact supported by no other history save the *Aīn*. We have not yet come across with any other direct or indirect evidence as to his father's living outside Bengal before or after his birth. In the circumstances, we are not inclined to credit him with an extra-territorial birth.

During his boyhood he was a fellow student of the famous Bengali Sultān Ghayāthu-d-Dīn A'zam Shāh (1389-1409 A.D.) who is ever renowned in history for the justice done to the widow for the loss of her son in one of his hunting expeditions. Both the Sultān and the saint were His friendship tutored under the religious instructions of Shaykh Ghayāthu-d-Dīn. Hamīdu-d-Dīn of Nāgūr (1256-1360) in Jodhpur<sup>3</sup> and not of Nāgūr in the district of Bīrbhām, Bengal, as some historians say.<sup>4</sup> While they were yet students, there grew up an intimate friendship between the prospective Sultān and the saint—a friendship that may generally be developed between two students of one country acquiring knowledge in a distant land. This friendship lasted throughout their lives. Ghayāthu-d-Dīn (1389-1409) used to respect his friend and fellow student much for his mystic achievements.<sup>5</sup>

In his last days, Shaykh 'Alā'u'-l-Haqq, transferred the charge of management of his monastery ( *Khānaqāh* ) to his son and spiritual successor ( *Khalīfah* ) Nūr Qutb-i-'Ālam. Qutb-i-'Ālam used to do everything himself for the good management of his father's monastery. His elder brother Shaykh A'zam Khān was a minister of one of the Kings of Pānduā ( this Sultān was in all probability the famous Ghayāthu-d-Dīn A'zam Shāh ), who did not like his younger brother Qutb-i-'Ālam for his indifference

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind* pt. I., page 144.

2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., vol. III, p. 371.

3. (i) *Riyāzu's-Salāṭin* ( Bib. Ind. ) p. 111.

(ii) *Contributions etc.* op. cit., foot-note, p. 52.

4. *History of Bengal*, Charles Stewart (1847), p. 59.

5. *Riyāzu's-Salāṭin* ( Bib. Indica ), p. 111.

to self-respect. On the authority of *Rafīqu'l-Ārifīn* or the Friend of the Gnostics, the *Tadhkirah*<sup>1</sup> relates that, while he was carrying on his head a bundle of faggots for the use of the Guest House (*langar khānah*), he met by chance with his elder brother A'zam Khān who exclaimed, "How long will you carry faggots, Q Nūru'd-Dīn ! Living with father, you have only experienced His refusal of of carrying woods ; once, come to me so that I may worldly prosperity, make you independent of all these". On hearing this Nūru'd-Dīn replied, "I have no necessity of your wealth and grandeur which are perishable. To carry faggots for the monastery is better (than wealth) ; the post of dignitaries is for you".

In the latter part of his life, Nūr Quṭb-i-Ālam began to dabble in politics of the time. He played a most important part in the political events that shook terribly the very foundation of the Muslim rule in Bengal during the first part of the fifteenth century A.D. When Rājā Kāns or Gaṇeś, who rejoiced in the Sobriquet of Danujamardana or Demon-destroyer ( 1409-1414 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> usurped the throne of Bengal, "He began to oppress the Muhammadans, and his wholesale murder and other acts of cruelty so strained the patience and forbearance of Ḥaḍrat Nūr Quṭb-i-Ālam, who was the spiritual leader of both the late His intimate con- King and his Musalman subjects, that the Saint nection with the invited Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, of Jaunpūr politics of his time, ( 1400-1440 ) to invade the country." The latter with a powerful army reached Bengal and encamped at Fīrūzpur (Old Māldah). Rājā Kāns, on hearing this news, was terror-stricken, and hastened to wait on the saint Quṭb-i-

1. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind*, pt. II, p. 32.

2. Rājā Kāns of the *Riyadu's-Salāṭīn* has been identified with Rājā Gaṇeś the Zamindar of Bhaturia, and Danujamardana or Demon-destroyer, the Hindu King of Eastern Bengal. It is quite likely that Rājā Gaṇeś assumed the title of Danujamardana after his ascension on the throne of Bengal. vide :

(i) Coins and Chronology of the Independent Sulṭāns of Bengal, Nalini Kanta Bhattachali, M. A. ( W. Heffer and Sons England ), pp. 107-127.  
(ii) Proceedings of the annual meeting of the numismatic society of India, 1930. ( Presidential Address of Mr. H.E. Stapleton ).

‘Ālam. Showing submissiveness and humility, and weeping the Rājā said, “Pray draw the pen of forgiveness across the page of the offences of this sinner, and dissuade Sulṭān Ibrāhīm from subjugating this country”. The saint replied, “In order to intercede on behalf of an oppressive infidel, I cannot stand in the way of a Musalmān sovereign, especially of one who has come at my request and desire”. In despair, Rājā Kāns bowed his head to the feet of the Saint, and said, ‘Whatever the Saint may bid, I am willing to submit thereto’. The Saint replied, ‘So long as thou dost not embrace Islām, I cannot intercede for thee’. The Rājā at first agreed to this condition, but later his wife, ‘casting that misguided man into the well of misguidance’, prevented his conversion to Islām. At last Rājā Kāns brought into the presence of the Saint his son named Jadu who was twelve years old, and said, ‘I have become old and desire to retire from the world. You may convert to Islām this son of mine, and then bestow on him the Kingdom of Bengal.’ The Saint thereupon converted Jadu to Islām, and naming him Jalālu-’d-Dīn, had the fact proclaimed in the city, and caused the *Khuṭbah* (i.e. the Friday sermon) of the Kingdom of Bengal to be recited in his name. The ordinances of Muhammadan law from the day were again put in force and the Saint Quṭb-i-Ālam went to meet Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. After making apologies, he begged Sulṭān Ibrāhīm to withdraw, whereupon the Sulṭān returned in great annoyance to Jaunpūr.

“Rājā Kāns, shortly after the Sulṭān of Jaunpūr had left Bengal, displaced Sulṭān Jalālu-’d-Dīn, and himself re-ascended the throne. According to the injunctions of his creed, the Rājā prepared several large gold figures (?) of cows, and having passed Jalālu-’d-Dīn through their hollow interiors, he then distributed the gold of those cow-figures among the Brahmins, thus in theory reconverting his son to his own creed. (This act of expiation is known in Hindu ritual “*Suvarṇa dhenn-vrata*”). As, however, Jalālu-’d-Dīn had been converted by the Saint Quṭb-i-Ālam, he did not abandon his faith in Islām, and the persuasions of the infidels had no effect on his heart. His father Rājā Kāns,

on the other hand, again unfurling the standard of misbehaviour, attempted to destroy and extirpate Muhammadans. At length his emissaries killed Shaikh Anwār, son of the Saint himself, and it is said that, on the very day and at the very moment when Anwār was murdered at Sonārgāon, Rājā Kāns died.”<sup>1</sup>

Quṭb-i-‘Ālam was alive for only a few years after the death of Rājā Gaṇeṣ. The Rājā’s son Jadu alias Jalālu’d-Dīn (1418-1431) again ascended the throne on the death of his father. When he came to power, he showed due respect to the saint and recalled saint’s nephew Zāhid from his banishment to Sonārgāon.<sup>2</sup>

There are differences of opinion with regard to the exact date of the death of Nūr Quṭb-i-‘Ālam. All the dates that are available now, only betray the ignorance of the historians who noted it down. Amongst these dates, 1447 A.D.<sup>3</sup> and 1405 A.D.<sup>4</sup> are prominent; but they cannot be relied upon, in the face of recent revelation of the true date of his death, which is 1415 A.D. (9th of *Dhī Q’ad*, 818 A.H.). The true His death 1415 A.D. chronogram of his death is “nūr banūr shud” = “Light became light”, the value of the Persian letter of which gives 818 A.H. = 1415 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

Nūru’d-Dīn Quṭb-i-‘Ālam was a great saint of Indiadwide celebration. His name and fame was not confined to Bengal alone: people from different distant parts of India used to come to him for initiation and his title “Quṭb-i-‘Ālam” or “Axis of the Mystic World” simply indicates his greatness as a mystic. As a religious and political leader, he had no match in Bengal during his lifetime. He always upheld the cause of A brief estimate Islām in right earnest, and held aloft its banner with of the saint the zeal of a missionary, foresight of a statesman and leadership of a true politician. During the most critical and trying period of Hindu revival under Rājā

1. (i) This is a slightly summarised version of the *Riyādu’s-Salātin* (Tr. A. Salam).

(ii) *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, K.S. Abid Ali, pp. 27-28.

2. *Riyād op. cit.*, p. 116-17.

3. (i) *Tadhkirah*, part. II, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

(ii) *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 54

4. *Ain*, Vol. III, *op. cit.* p. 371.

5. J.A.S.B., pt. I, No. I, 1892, p. 124 & *Ibid.*, pt. I, No. I, 1902, p. 46.

Gaṇes, he gave a creditable lead to the Muslims of Bengal, which saved the gradually expansive Islām from impending danger of its premature death. Only for the furtherance of the cause of Islām in Bengal, he had to sacrifice his whole energy, immense wealth, personal honour and dignity and even his dearest son.

Amongst the Northern Indian disciples of Nūr Quṭb-i-Ālam the following were prominent. They were all His disciples. commissioned by the saint to propagate Islām in the different parts of India.

(a) Shāh Kālū : He was commissioned to Lahore where he died in 1461 A.D. He converted many Hindus to Islām in the Punjab too.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Shaykh Shamsu'-d-Dīn Tāhīr : His field of activity was Ajmir, and he died there in the year 1476. A.D.<sup>2</sup>

(c) Shāh Jalālu'-d-Dīn Gujrātī : He was a native of Gujrāt and was one of the prominent disciples of Nūr Quṭb-i-Ālam. His activities were so widely felt as to create a false notion about him, of his participating in the political matters of the country. On this pretext he was beheaded with all his followers by the Sultān in the year 1476 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

##### 5. Shaykh Ḥusāmu'-d-Dīn Mānikpurī (d.1477 A.D.).

Among the Bengali disciples of Nūru'-d-Dīn Quṭb-i-Ālam, Shaykh Ḥusāmu'-d-Dīn was the most eminent of them all.<sup>4</sup> He was born in Mānikpur (Kodā) in the district of modern Pūrṇiā. He was a great scholar and saint. After his death, his devoted followers had gathered his messages in a collection Shaykh Ḥusāmu- known as "*Rafīqu-'l-Ārifīn*" or "the Friend of 'd-Dīn Mānikpurī. the Gnostics". His ascetic practices were based (d 1477 A.D.) on stern stoicism and strict discipline : for the attainment of the cloak of spiritual succession (*Khirqah-i-Khilāfat*), he gladly observed the vow of fast for seven

1. *Tadhkirah, op. cit.*, part. II, p. 36.

2. *Ibid.*,

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Aīn, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 371.

long years continually.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, on the breach of his vow of fast, his missionary career began. His active participation in the missionary propaganda made him famous in Bihar and Bengal. He was a great organizer as well. He started a new order of preachers, called the "Ḥusāmīyah Order", who worked vigorously under his guidance in Northern Bengal, and different parts of Bihar. He died at Māṇikpur in the year, 1477 A.D.

Among his prominent followers, the following may be mentioned :

(a) Rājī Ḥāmid Shāh : He was born in Māṇikpur and he died there in 1495 A.D. On the death of Ḥusāmu-'d-Dīn, he succeeded his spiritual guide and held aloft the banner of Ḥusāmīyah order at that time.<sup>2</sup>

(b) Shāh Sidu : This saint had the fortune to be born with a silver spoon in his mouth, but he renounced all his fortunes, pleasures and comforts of life, when the spirituality was dawning on him. He was a poet of considerable merit and he died in 1526 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

#### 6. Shaykh Raḍā Biyābānī (d.1353 A.D.).

He was a saint of great renown and was the "pīr" and contemporary of Sulṭān Shamsu-'d-Dīn Ilyās Shāh (1339-1358). In 1353 A.D., while the emperor Firūz Shāh of Delhi (1351-1388) besieged the impregnable fortress of Ekdālā, where Ilyās Shāh took shelter for his personal safety, the saint Shaykh Raḍā died in the vicinity of the fortress where he had Biyābānī. (d.1353 been residing. The siege continued for months together and Ilyās Shāh had not the least chance of coming out of the beleaguered fortress without the fear of his being captured or killed by his enemies. In a critical situation like this, while he heard of the demise of his "pīr", he gave up hope of his life and determined to join his 'Janāzzah' or funeral prayer. He came out of the fort in disguise and performed

1. *Tadhkirah*, part. II, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42,

3. *Ibid.* p. 45



the last duty to his "pīr" and returned to the fort safely. Such was the deep veneration of the Sultān for his "pīr."

7. Shāh Gadā (d. before 1455 A.D.).

The shrine of this saint is in old Maldah, in the vicinity of Gaur and Pānduā. We do not know any thing in detail about this saint. There are two Arabic inscriptions attached to his shrine. One of these two inscriptions is not (d. before 1455) at all necessary for our present purpose. It only (A. D.) records the building of a mosque during the time of Husayn Shāh. The other inscription sheds a partial light on the saint's death. This inscription runs thus :

قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا بنى الله له قعبرا في الجنة  
في العهد السلطان الاعظم المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر  
محمود شاه السلطان بنى هذا المسجد بنده درك هلال - تحريرا في  
التاسع عشر من ماه شعبان عمت ميامنه سنة تسع وخمسين وثمانائة -

Translation: He upon whom be peace (i.e. Muḥammad) said, "Allāh builds a palace in the paradise for him who builds a mosque (in this world)". During the reign of the great and exalted Sultān Nāsiru'd-Duniyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Mahmud Shāh, the Sultān, this mosque has been built by *Hilāl the servant of the "Dargāh"*. (This tablet has been) written on the nineteenth of the month of Sha'bān—may the blessings of this month be universal—of the year 859 A.H. (=1455 A.D.).

From this inscription it is clear that this saint died before 1455 A.D., because Hilāl, the servant of the "Dargāh" built the mosque in 1455 A.D.

8. Shaykh Khalīl. (alive in 1539 A.D.).

Shaykh Khalīl. This saint was one of the descendants of Shaykh (alive in 1539) Farīdu'd-Dīn Shakrganj (1176-1269) of India-wide fame<sup>2</sup>. Though he was not a Bengali by birth, he

was the spiritual guide of Sher Shāh (1539-45)<sup>3</sup>.

In 1539 A.D. when emperor Humāyūn was defeated by Sher

1. *Riyadu's-Salaṭīn*, op. cit., p. 102.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

3. *Bāngālār Itihās*, Vol. II, R. D. Bandyopādhyāy pp. 334-35.

Shāh, and had been fleeing away to Agra, this saint was instrumental in bringing about a truce between Sher Shāh and the Emperor.

9. Sayyad Shāh Ni'matullāh. (d. 1664 A.D.).

According to the account recorded in the *Khurshīd-i-Jahān Numān*, this saint was born in Karnaul in the province of Delhi. He was a great traveller and in course of his itinerary, he came to Rajmahal and lived there for sometime. Sulṭān Sayyad Shāh Shāh Shuja (1639-1660) was then governor of Ni'matullāh. Bengal who showed much honour to the saint<sup>1</sup>. (d.1664 A.D.) The saint afterwards repaired from Rajmahal to Firūzpūr quarter of Gaur, where he died in the year 1664 A. D. the chronogram of his death is "*Ni'matullāh bahar-i-'ulūm mudām*", i. e. "*Ni'matullāh is an everlasting ocean of learning*", the numerical value of which bring forth the year 1075 A.H. = 1664 A.D.

10. Saints of Dinājpur.

Everywhere in Dinājpur mouldering tombs of Muslim saints are found and many fantastic stories are current in connection with their activities in the localities. It is somewhat impossible to extract any historical facts from those stories Saints of Dinājpur, which are probably based on not history but on popular beliefs of the people. Among the innumerable forgotten or half-forgotten names of these saints, three, deserve special mention and they are : Shāh Nāsiru-'d-Dīn Nikmardān, pīr Badhru-'d-Dīn, and Mullā 'Aṭṭa-'u-'d-Dīn.

(a). Shāh Nāsiru-'d-Dīn Nikmardān : He was buried in the village of Nekmardān, named after the saint. In this place, a great fair is annually held on the first day of *Vaiśākh*, i.e., Bengali New year, the traditional date of the saint's death anniversary.

Though nothing particular is known about the Shāh Nāsiu- saint, yet there is little doubt about his immense influence on the people of Dinājpur at a time not later than the fourteenth or earlier than the thirteenth centuries A. D. His very name Nikmardān suggest that, he was a Turk by birth.

<sup>1</sup> S.B. Vol. LXIV, part. I, 1895, No. 3, p. 224.

(b) Pir Badhru-'d-Dīn : His small sepulchre is situated at Hematabād where, it is said, lived an intolerant Hindu King named Maheś Rājā, who was blindly prejudicial to the Muslims. The story goes that the "Pir" Pir Badhru-'d-Dīn entered Rājā's jurisdiction to preach Islām in spite of the Rājā's orders forbidding the entry of Muslim, of Husayn into his kingdom. Being enraged at the violation of his order, the Rājā severely oppressed him, who, in the long run, had to seek help from the Court of Gaur, where Husayn Shāh (1493-1519) was then reigning. Husayn Shāh took up the cause of the "Pir" in hot haste and sent a large army against Maheś Rājā of Hematabād. In the battle that ensued, Maheś Rājā was defeated and killed and his dominion came under the sway of Husayn Shāh.

This story seems to be based on historical facts. It is not improbable that there had been in Hematabād a local chief named Maheś Rājā. Not far from Hematabād, a mouldering heap of ruins is still pointed out as the palace of Maheś Rājā by the people of the locality, and near by, the sight of a square-sized column is still existing bearing the name of "Husayn Shāhī Takht" or the Throne of Husayn Shāh. It is quite probable that the column was built by Husayn Shāh for the commemoration of his victory over the Rājā. Moreover, the sepulchre of the "Pir" furnishes us with positive proof that it was built with the materials of Hindu buildings. It might have been the case that after the defeat of Maheś Rājā, his palaces were demolished by the Muslim soldiers and on the death of the Pir the materials of those palaces were used in building the tomb of the saint. All these facts taken together, we can fairly hold that the saint flourished during the last part of the fifteenth century A.D. and that he heralded the downfall of Hindu Kingdom of Maheś Rājā.

(c) Mullāh 'Ata'u-'d-Dīn : The Tomb of this famous saint is on the bank of Daldighi in Gangarāmpur. No history of the saint is available now. Probably, he was contemporary with the saint

**Badhru-'d-Dīn.** There is an old mosque close by the tomb of the saint on the bank of Daldighi. The epigraphy of (c) this mosque speaks of its foundation during the Mullā At'au-'d-Dīn. time of Husayn Shāh by one of his generals<sup>1</sup>. It is a fact that the mosques built on the premisses of "Dargāhs" were generally erected after the establishment of "Dargāhs". Hence, the time of this saint can not be pushed back to a date after the reign of Husayn Shāh.

#### 11. Shāh Ismā'il Ghāzī (beheaded in 1474 A.D.).

Four tombs claiming to enshrine the remains of this saint are found in four different places in the jurisdiction of Pirganj *thana* in the district of Rangpur. It is said that different limbs of the body of this saint were interred in these four places after his execution. Amongst four tombs, only one, Shāh Ismā'il Ghāzī, that is situated at Kantāduār or Chatrahātā, is famous. In this shrine there is an ancient Persian manuscript, written in 1633 A.D., in the custody of its "*Khādim*" i.e. the man who takes regular care of a Muslim shrine<sup>2</sup>. From the contents of this manuscript, the following historical facts in connection with the life of this saint may be noted :

Shāh Ismā'il Ghāzī was born in the city of Mecca whence he came to India with a view to preach Islām among the heathens of India. He travelled through many parts of Northern India, and at last during the reign of Sulṭān Barbak Shāh (1459-1474), he reached Gaur. Coming to know of his honest and pious intention, Barbak Shāh made him the generalissimo of the expedition against the King Kāmeśvara of His recorded Kāmrupa. With the help of the Gaurian army, account. Ismā'il Ghāzī declared a crusade against the King of Kāmrupa, who in spite of his violent opposition, had at last to give way to Ghāzī's innumerable prodigies of valour. On the defeat of Kāmeśvara, Kāmrupa

1. East Bengal District Gazetteers,—Dinājpur, 1912, p. 20.

2. J.A.S.B., Vol. XLIII, 1874, p. 215.

and its neighbouring places, came under the Muslims and the Ghāzī was appointed as the governor of the newly conquered territory. He governed the territory with strict justice tempered with mercy and promulgated good laws acceptable to his heathen and Muslim subjects. Thus, within a short time, he endeared himself to all classes of people living under his benevolent rule.

At this time, there was a Hindu governor named Bhāṇḍarī Rāy in Ghorāghāt under Sultān Bārbak Shāh. He was a mean fellow of malignant nature. He heard of the unique success and country-wide fame of the Ghāzī and became jealous of his good fortune. So, he began to hatch a plot against the life of the Ghāzī. As a result of this vile intrigue, the Sultān was supplied with the false news that the Ghāzī had already concluded a secret treaty with the last King of Kāmrūpa who was living safely in the mountainous tract as a refugee and that he was contemplating to revolt against the Sultān. When Bārbak Shāh heard this, he became very angry, and passed the sentence of capital punishment on the Ghāzī without a further investigation into the matter. Thus, in the prime of life, Isma'īl Ghāzī was beheaded in the year 1474 A.D.

## Chapter VIII

### History of the Sufis of Bengal

#### Rāḍha Centre

This centre comprises Burdwan, Birbhūm, Bankurā and Hughli. Darvish activities in this centre were not continuous.

Only sporadic attempts were made by individual A very brief saints to proselytise the Hindu inhabitants of description of the localities where they settled. As there was no the centre sustained effort, the missionary propaganda of the darvishes was in many cases proved to be either a total or a partial failure. However, the case is otherwise with only one place in this centre and this is Mangalkot in Burdwan. Hence, we like to take up its history first.

#### 1. Mangalkot and its darvishes :

Nearly ninety per cent of the population of Mangalkot parganah are Muslims. In other parts of Burdwan Muslims are numerically far less than their Hindu neighbours.

Mangalkot and Mangalkot still seems to be a good Muslim colony its darvishes. in the whole district. Everywhere in the parganah, many heaps of Muslim architectural remains, innumerable mouldering tombs of darvishes and sundry romantic, fantastic as well as semi-historical tales of Muslim adventurers, still speak of its ancient glory and cultural heritage in mute voice. The thing with which we are directly connected here, is this that the Muslim inhabitants of the place still proudly relate the story of 18 darvishes who are said to have conquered the parganah for the Muslims. The story may be shortly related thus :

#### (a) Mukhdūm Shāh Maḥmūd Ghaznawī alias Rābī Pīr.

Long long ago, there was a very powerful Hindu King, named Bikramakeśari (some say Bikramāditya) in Mangalkot,

whose capital was at Ujānī (some say Ujjayinī) and court of justice at Kāchāridāngā. He was a pious Hindu, Rāhī Pīr and who used to spend daily abundant gold in charity. the story of the *Sannyāsi*, the indigent and the needy never returned from his door disappointed. A very learned Mangalkot by man called Kailās (some say Kālidāsa) was one a darvish army. of his favourite courtiers. His fellows and colleagues used to envy him for his good fortune. In spite of all these good qualities, the King Bikramakesari had one stigma on his character and that is his extreme hate for the Muslims whom he contemptuously called "Yavana". He used to observe the rite of "Terātri" i.e. a vow of fast for three successive days and nights, in order to expiate Raja Bikramakesari the sin accruing from the utterance of the word kesari. "Yavana" and if by chance he saw the face of a "Yavana", he ungrudgingly observed the rite of "Saptahiki" or the vow of fast for a week. Such was the case with him that he used to behead those unfortunate Muslims who had the temerity to cross the boundary of his Kingdom.

One day, a Muslim saint, named Maḥmūd Shāh Maḥmūd Ghaznawī alias Rāhī Pīr, came to his Kingdom from Delhi. It is said that in his early age, he left home and spent the greater part of his life in the company of his spiritual guide Bahā'u-d-Dīn Shāh, who, in the long run ordered him to part with his company and proceed to the east that led to the in quest of a Hindu Kingdom, into which arrival of Rāhī Pīr of a Muslim was banned by its ruler. His Pīr at Mangal-kot. spiritual guide informed him by implication that the place would have been the place of his eternal rest and with his entry, Islam will enter that country of the infidels. He carried out the order of his "Murshid" without much delay and proceeded to the east. But, nowhere he found a Hindu Kingdom as defined by his "Murshid", till at last he entered the Kingdom of Bikramakesari, where he was amazed to see that the inhabitants of the place not only turned their backs to him, but also muttered the name of "Rām

Rām" as a pious ejaculation to avert the sin of seeing a Mohammadan. No sooner had he entered the city, than a hue and cry was alarmingly raised by the citizens, as if some horrible occurrence had happened in the city. They all said, "Undone, a *Yavana* has come to our city". Observing such state of affairs, the darvish fully realised that it was the place indicated by his "*Murshid*", and as he was proceeding on, he thanked God that at last He had brought him to his destination.

It was the time of *Asar* i. e. afternoon prayer, when the darvish reached a place now called *Bāngtalā*\* situated in the middle of the city, and called out with a loud cry of "*adhān*" What happened (a summon for prayer), which was heard in all after his parts of the city. The King Bikramakesari heard arrival. the cry of "*adhān*" in his palace and understood that a "*Yavana*" had already entered his sacred city to defile it. He at once ordered all the inhabitants to observe the rite of "*Terātri*" and sent his men to arrest the saint for immediate execution. The darvish was deeply absorbed in prayer, when the officers of the King came to arrest him. They were discomfited by the miracles of the saint and had to report their inability to the King. Then the King sent a detachment of his troops, who too failed. Being failed thus to execute his order, he convened at once a council of learned men who advised the King to persuade the "*Yavana*" to leave the city and to repair to the opposite bank of the Kanur river, where he would be allowed to live undisturbed. The King accepted their advice and the darvish was persuaded to go to the opposite bank of the Kanur. When the saint settled there, the King ordered to raise a high wall along the bank of the river, so that he might not see the face of the saint. The village, situated on the other bank of the river, is now called "*Āḍāl*" meaning 'concealment' or 'cover' because of the fact that the King

\* The Persian word "*Bāng*" means "a call for prayer" and the Bengali word "*Talā*" means "lower surface". The combination of the two words "*Bāngtalā*", therefore, means—the surface of the ground on which '*Adhān*' was cried aloft.



tried to hide or conceal the figure of the Muslim saint behind the high wall constructed by him.

In this way the days were passing smoothly. A few years after this event, Muhammadan Emperor of Delhi sent a letter to the court of Rājā Bikramakeśari. It was written in Persian and hence none of the courtiers of the King could go through it. The learned courtier Kālidāsa or Kailāsa was called at. He came and advised the King to send the letter to Rāhī Pīr, who was then living on the other bank of the river Kanur, with a request of the King for its interpretation. The King heard the counsel and afterwards

had the letter interpreted from the Pīr. But again a novel trick difficulty arose at the time of reply and the King played by Rāhī pīr. again had to seek the help of the Pīr. This time, the cunning Pīr did a novel thing. Quite in contradiction with the purport of the King, he drafted a lengthy letter in Persian to the Emperor of Delhi, in which he graphically described the inimical attitude of the Rājā towards the Muslims and earnestly invited the Emperor to attack the Rājā with an avowed intention of dethroning him. The Raja was not at all aware of it and he sent the letter as it was, to Delhi under the royal seal. When the letter reached the Emperor of Delhi, he made no delay in sending a large army under the command of Ghora Shāhid, a great warrior-saint. There were other sixteen darvishes who accompanied him to Mangalkot. Out of these sixteen only the following seven names are now known :

- (1) Sayyad Shāh Tāju'-d-Dīn, (2) Khwājah-i-Dīn Chishtī,
- (3) Shāh Hājī 'Alī, (4) Shāh Sirāju'-d-Dīn, (5) Shāh Fīruz,
- (6) Pīr Panjtān. (7) Pīr Ghora Shāhid.

In due time, the imperial army reached the Kingdom of Bikramakeśari and Rāhī Pīr joined them. Then a prolonged sanguinary battle ensued and in spite of the loss of innumerable lives, the Hindu soldiers did not decrease in number. The Muslims closely watched

the matter and saw that the soldiers whom they left dead on the battle field; came to life in the Imperial army at morning and fought with them with renewed vigour and fresh energy in the next day. They were amazed

to see this, but could not understand what was going on there. Afterwards as the result of a thorough investigation,

the Muslims definitely came to know that there was a "*Jion Kunda*" i.e. a magic well of life, under the possession of the Rājā, wherein he threw the dead to bring them to life, and that if once this magic well is desecrated by throwing a lump of beef, all its charms would be gone for ever. At once Rāhī Pīr undertook the charge of defiling it, and in the guise of a *Sannyāsī* he concealed a lump of beef under his armpit and then sought the King's permission to bathe in that sacred well with the plea that thereby he liked to fulfil his life-long desire. As the Rājā was very well disposed to the *Sannyāsis*, he at once acceded to the request of the *Sannyāsī* in disguise, and consequently, the magic well was desecrated by Rāhī Pīr on the pretext of a sacred bath.

After the defilement of the well, the Muslims renewed their fight with redoubtable vigour and within a few days, the Hindus were defeated and crushed. But in the engagement, the horse of the commanding darvish was killed and henceforward he became known as the darvish *Ghorā Shahīd*, or a saint whose horse was killed in a religious fight. Rājā Bikramakeśari fled to the east where he is said to have reigned for a few years more. His capital of the eastern kingdom was at Bikrampur-Mangalkot conquered a village in the district of Dacca known after by the Muslims. the name of the Rājā. When the Imperial army entered the city triumphantly after the victory, all the inhabitants of the city were either induced or coerced to accept Islām as their religion. All of the eighteen darvishes were buried in the city in different places after their death and their mouldering tombs are still existing and identified by local people.

Such is the story, related to me by an aged Musalmān gentleman (70) of Mangalkot, in connection with the spread of Islām to that locality. A story-specially one, connected with the glory of a particular community and preserved in the memory of its members as a historical document for critical study of generations together, cannot be entirely rejected as the current story. false in the absence of any reliable written document that can set aside the oral evidence of fairly old time. It is therefore necessary to examine it historically so that some clue to the fixation of at least a probable date, may be found out.

No names mentioned in the story narrated above, are exactly like the names of any known darvishes of India. It is, therefore, not possible from this side, to come to any definite conclusion about the time of the conquest of Mangalkot by the darvish army.

However, only one name in the story, i.e. the earliest possible name of Bahā'u-d-Dīn Shāh, the spiritual guide of date of the conquest: Rāhī Pīr (Makhdūm Shāh Mahmūd Ghaznawī), is of Mangalkot. almost similar to one of the names of the famous Suhrawardī darvishes of India, i.e., Bahā'u-d-Dīn Dhakriyā of Multān (1169-1266 A.D.). It is not unlikely that the name of Bahā'u-d-Dīn Dhakriyā was abridged to Bahā'u-d-Dīn Shāh by the people of Mangalkot. If that be the case, the conquest of Mangalkot might have taken place during the first half of the thirteenth century A.D.

No history, or inscription, or copper-plate, or numismatography, has yet enlightened us with the revelation of the date of Rāja Bikramakesari (or Bikramāditya), the main hero of the story. Of late, many facts relating to the local chieftains of Bengal during the Hindu rule, have come to light by the labour of scholars. But unfortunately, the hero of our story is conspicuously absent from all available accounts. It may be that Bikramakesari and Bikramāditya

were not the real name of the King, but only his titles. Both of the words indicate the great power name in old Bengali that the King possessed. However, we meet with these two names in the "Seka-Subhodaya". The

name "Bikramakesari" (1) is found in connection with a story related by Jalālu-d-Dīn Tabrizī and the name Bikramāditya" occurs in a passage (2), the translation of which runs thus :

- (1) "যোগী কথনতি। আসীয়াহারাজাধিরাজঃ শ্রীমদবিক্রমকেশরী।  
তস্য রাজ্যে মহাধনে রত্নাকরো নাম মহাসাধুনিবসতি। রাজাজ্ঞয়া স  
সাধুরহমৌকাং কৃত্বা দাদশবর্ষং বাণিজ্যং কর্তুং গতঃ। ইত্যাদি।

শেক শূভোদয়—দশমঃ পরিচ্ছেদঃ, পৃঃ ৫৪।

- (2) "পূর্বে বিক্রমাদিত্যস্য সভায়াং আকাশাৎ পত্নঃ পতিতান্তে। ১১২৪।  
চতুর্বিংশত্তরে শাকৈঃ সহস্রৈক শতাব্দিকৈঃ  
বৈহারী পাটনাং পূর্বে তুরক সমুপাগতঃ ॥"

শেক শূভোদয়—প্রথমঃ পরিচ্ছেদঃ, পৃঃ ৯।

"Long ago, a scroll fell from the sky in the court of Bikramāditya (which contained the following couplet), "Twenty-four after one thousand one hundred of the Śaka year = 1124 (+ 78 = 1202 A.D.),

The Turks will arrive at the tract east of Bihar and Patna".

From a second source, we come to know something of Rājā Bikramakeśari of Ujāni. In the Chandī Kāvya (Comp. 1584 A.D.) of Mukundarām Kabikāṅkaṇa, the following passage in connection with the story of Dhanapati Sadāgar, occurs :

"The city of Ujāni is exquisitely beautiful, where Rājā Bikramakeśari reigns. The King of Ujāni worships Śiva, and Durgā is kind to him. In the administration of justice to his subjects he is like Rāma, and in charity, he resembles Karna. He is truthful like Yudhisthira and wise like Śukadeva ; and mother Manglā is satisfied with him. He is a great archer, and possesses a beautiful physique and is equal to Nārada in music. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are always read out to him and he gives gold in charity to Brahmins. The description of Ujāni is,—trenches lie all around it and bamboos used as hedges are found on all sides. If any tributary chieftain of the king travels around it for four months, he will not be able to end his journey"(x).

These are the oldest references to the names, rather titles of the King of Ujāni (< Ujjayini). It would not be wise on our part to jump to any definite conclusion with regard to the time of Bikramakeśari or Bikramāditya, on the strength of these references. But one

- (x) "উজানী নগর, অতি মনোহর, বিক্রমকেশরী রাজা ।  
করে শিব পূজা, উজানীর রাজা, কৃপাময়ী দশভুজা ॥  
যেন রঘুরাজা, তেন পালে প্রজা, কর্ণের সমান দাতা ।  
ব্রুধিষ্ঠির বাণী, শুকদেব জ্ঞানী, প্রসন্ন মঙ্গলা মাতা ॥  
মহাধনুর্ধর, দিব্য কলেবর, নারদ সমান গানে ।  
শুনে অবিরত, পুরাণ ভারত, হিজ দেই হেমদানে ॥  
উজানীর কথা, গড় চারিভিতা, চৌদিকে বেউর বাঁশ ।  
রাজার সামন্ত, নাহি পায় অন্ত, যদি ফিরে চারিমাস ॥

কবি কঙ্কণ—চণ্ডী (বঙ্গবাসী সংস্করণ, ১৩১৩) পৃঃ ১১৪-১১৫ ।

thing is certain from these references that the legend of Bikramakeśari was known to the people of Bengal before the sixteenth century A. D., because, both "*Seka Subhodayā*" and "*Chandī Kāvya*" belonged to not later than the sixteenth century. It should be noted here that the name Bikramakeśari or Bikramāditya acquired a legendary character during the sixteenth century A. D., and this could not be fully achieved unless two or three centuries passed after the death of the king of Ujāini.

Another aspect of the present story hints at its antiquity, and that is its close resemblance to another story of similar type, current in Vanga in connection with the foundation of Bikrampur in Dacca. The inhabitants of Bikrampur trace its origin from the name of Rājā Bikrama or Bikramāditya. They say, Rājā Bikramāditya, being defeated in a fratricidal war, fled to Samatāṭa where he reigned for years together and he was the person who changed the old name of the place to Bikrampur.<sup>1</sup> Does not the resemblance of Rāḍha tradition with Vanga one speak of its hoary antiquity?

Another aspect of the present story is the tradition of the "Well of Life" (*Jion Kunda*). This tradition is also connected with another darvish who conquered Pānduā, in Hughli during the reign of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī (1290-1295).<sup>2</sup> It is now impossible to ascertain, with whom the tradition was first connected. If the Pānduā tradition walked up to Burdwan for its amalgamation with the story of the local darvishes, then the conquest of Mangalkot must have taken place after the 13th century.

Considering all aspects of the tradition of Mangalkot, we are inclined to hold the view that its conquest by Rāhī Pīr (Makhdūm Shāh Maḥmūd Ghaznawī) and his other companions was a historical episode that might have taken place during the early years of Turkī conquest.

1. (i) *Statistical Accounts of Bengal*—Hunter, p. 118.  
 (ii) *Bikrampur Itihas*—Jogendranath Gupta, pp. 4-6.
2. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1870, pp. 123-125.

(b) **Makhdum Shāh 'Abdullāh Gujrātī.** (d. before 1500 A.D.)

While we had been at Mangalkot in 1930, the "*Khādim*" or caretaker of the shrine of this saint informed us that the darvish came to Mangalkot from Gujrāt not after

(b) a very long time following the conquest of Mangal-Makhdum Shāh kot by 18 darvishes, and that he came to the 'Abdullah place with a view to visit the tombs of his pre-Gujrati. (died. decessors whose name and fame reached his native before 1500 A.D.) land Gujrāt long before. After his arrival at Mangalkot, he did not like to leave it owing to the sanctity of the place, acquired from the association of the 18 darvishes.

Besides this, no definite date is available about the life and activities of the saint. There is a mosque beside the tomb of this darvish, which contains the following inscription in Persian ;

"When this mosque was built by the grace of Ināyit, Then it turned to be a K'abah, a respectable place of Islām. An aerial voice from an aerial being came for its date : 'It is the place of worship for mankind.'"

1225 A. H. = 1810 A. D.

There is no doubt that this mosque was built long long after the death of Shāh 'Abdullāh Gujrātī who came to Mangalkot at a time not later than the sixteenth century A. D., if we are to believe in the oral account of the *Khādim* of the saint's tomb.

(c) **Shāh Sulṭān Anṣārī** ( alive in 1540 A. D. ).

The genealogy ( which we examined during our stay at Mangalkot ) of the descendants of Shāh Sulṭān Anṣārī proves, that his father belonged to the *Anṣār* ( those who

(c) helped the Prophet in Medina after his flight ) family Shāh Sulṭān of Medina, and he came to Mangalkot with his Anṣārī. ( alive family about the year 900 A. H. = 1498 A. D. Shāh in 1540 A. D. ). Sulṭān, one of his three sons was born in Mangal-kot, just after a few years of his settlement. He was a great learned man, a famous darvish, and a successful missionary.

(1) چون این مسجد بتوفیق عنایت + چون کعبه قبله اسلام آمد  
لذا از بهر تاریخش زهاتف + عبادت خانه آنام آمد ۱۲۲۵ هـ

One of the descendants of this saint, Mawlawī Mufaddalu-r-Rahmān Ansārī, who now serves in the state of the Mahārāja of Burdwan and is now 52 years (1931) old is the 17th man in descent from the saint.

(d) **Mawlānā Shaykh Hamīd Dānishmand**  
Bangālī ( d. 1653 A. D. )

According to information obtained locally the ancestors of this saint and savant belonged to a Qadī family of Oudh, one of whom came to Bengal and settled in Mangalkot. Here Hamīd was born and educated. Later

(d) **Shaykh Hamīd Danishmand** (d. 1653 A. D.) he went to Delhi to be the disciple of Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thānī (1533-1624 A.D.) whose name as a great mystic and reformer was known in Bengal. Here in Delhi, he made friends with the Prince Khurram

(Shāh-i-Jahān), who was then placed by his father Jahāngir under the instruction of Mujaddah-i-Alf-i-Thānī. After a stay for a few years in Delhi, Hamīd returned to his native place and devoted the rest of his life in teaching and preaching the principles of Islām. He founded a great *Madrasah*, the ruins of which are still to be seen beside the dilapidated mausoleum erected after his death over his grave. It is said,—when the news of his death reached Delhi,

Emperor Shāh-i-Jahān (1628-1658 A.D.) became very much moved and mortified for the loss of one of his fast friends and in order to perpetuate his

memory he ordered for the erection of the present mausoleum (now in a ruinous condition) over his sepulchre and of a mosque near by. This mosque was of magnificent size and is now fallen down, on the foundation and with the materials of which a new small mosque has now been erected by the Muslims of the locality for their use. The Emperor also made proper arrangements for the upkeep of the *Madrasah* founded by the saint. He granted a large rent-free state to the successors of the Mawlānā (none of whom now lives), with an annual income of 80,000 rupees, it is said, for the upkeep of the *Madrasah*.

The above account is not a story. It is a statement of fact

that both Mawlānā Ḥamīd Dāniṣṡmand and Khurram (Shāh-i-Jahān) were the disciples of Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thānī (1563-1628). In the "*Maktubāt*" or Epistles there are two letters from the pen of Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thānī, addressed to one Shaykh Ḥamīd Bangālī and there is no doubt that this Ḥamīd Bangālī was none but our present saint. The epigraph of the old mosque, now attached to the door of the present mosque built on the foundation of the old one, is another proof that testifies to the story that the mosque was originally built by Emperor Shāh-i-Jahān. The text of the Arabic Tughra inscription records the following facts :

"The Prophet, may God be pleased with him, said 'Whoever builds a mosque (in this world), will have a house in the paradise built for him by God'. This mosque was built in the reign of great Sultan, revered Emperor and the fortunate Shihāb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh-i-Jahān, the King and the Ghāzī. When you are asked about the date of its foundation say,—'this is the house of the honourable—1065 A. H. = 1654 A. D.'"(x)

One thing to be marked in this inscription is this that, there is no name of any individual to indicate the building of the mosque by him. Had the mosque been built by any private person, the inscription must have recorded his name. Hence, the story narrating the building of the mosque by the Imperial finance, is probably true. From the date of the inscription (1654 A. D.) it can be fairly surmised that Mawlānā Ḥamīd died a year or two before 1654 A. D., for the mosque was surely built after his death. It is to be noted that the mosques which were erected in Bengal within the enclosures of any shrine of a saint, were not built before the death of the saint.

(x) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً فقد بنى الله له بيتاً في الجنة. هذا المسجد بنى في عهد السلطان الأعظم والرحمن الأكرم صاحب قران ثانی شهاب الدین محمد شاه جهان بادشاہ غازی اذا سئلت تاريخ البنا فقل هو البيت العتيق سنة ١٠٦٥ هـ



(e) Shāh Mīr Dhākīr 'Alī.

According to local information, this saint came to Mangalkot only a few years after the death of Mawlānā Ḥamīd Dānīshmand. He belonged to Sayyid family and was a great saint who worked many miracles, needless to be related here.

2. Shāh Saḥīr-d-Dīn Shāhīd. (d. between 1290 and 95 A.D.).

He was the son of Barkhurdār, a noble of the court of Shāh Saḥīr-d-Dīn Delhi. His mother was the sister of Emperor Dīn. (d. between Firūz Shāh.<sup>1</sup> 1290-1295 A.D.).

The story current in Pānduā, Hughli, in connection with this saint is as follows. In the village of Mahānāth in Hughli there was a very powerful and orthodox Hindu King called Pandu Rājā who prohibited the slaughter of cows by law within the jurisdiction of his kingdom. During his reign, Shāh Saḥīr-d-Dīn settled at Pānduā, a city in his kingdom. A few years after his settlement there, a son was born to the saint. On the occasion of his son's circumcision-ceremony, the saint slaughtered a cow to give a feast to his guests who were invited to attend the ceremony.

Naturally incensed, the King ordered the infant child of Shāh Saḥīr-d-Dīn to be slain as a sacrifice to the goddess Kālī in the presence of the poor saint. The royal order was carried out accordingly and the helpless saint then left the kingdom of the Rājā for Delhi to relate this harrowing tale to Emperor Firūz Shāh who was his maternal uncle. The Emperor was very much moved to hear the story and sent a strong detachment of his troops against the King under the command of Ja'far Khān Ghāzī. The saint too was among the Imperial army to guide and encourage the soldiers in this holy expedition to Bengal. But before he left Delhi for Bengal, he went to Pānipath, where his spiritual guide (*Murshid*) Bu 'Alī Shāh

1. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870, pp. 123-125.

Qalandar was living, to ask of his blessings on the eve of this holy expedition. Bu 'Alī Shāh Qalandar heartily blessed Ṣafīu-'d-Dīn and hailed him as the conqueror of the infidels.

In due course, the Imperial army reached Pānduā and declared war against the Rājā. Then what happened in the battle was just the same as described in connection with the victory of Mangalkot. Shāh Ṣafīu-'d-Dīn defiled the magic "Well of Life" (*Jīon Kunda*) and came out victorious in the long run. Last day, while fighting with the enemies, Ṣafīu-'d-Dīn received a mortal wound which caused him to die on the spot. The victorious Muslim army entered the city triumphantly, drove off the Hindu inhabitants one and all, and demolished the temple of the Rājā, on the site of which they built a mosque. Not far off from the mosque a lofty minaret was built, from the top of which the "*Muwadhḥin*" (one who calls the Muslims for prayer) used to call the believers to prayer. With much eclat and pomp Shāh Ṣafīu-'d-Dīn was buried in the city of Pānduā. Some say, he was buried in the place where he was wounded and died.

Who was Shāh Ṣafīu-'d-Dīn and when did he flourish? In order to answer this question definitely, we should examine the story historically with a considerable amount of care and caution. Unless we take the help of synchronism, it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion about the time of the saint. The names of persons, mentioned in the story are three, and they are

(i) Bu 'Alī Shāh Qalandar, (ii) Firūz Shāh, and (iii) Ja'far Khān Ghāzī. These three persons are said to have been contemporary with Shāh Ṣafīu-'d-Dīn and let us first of all see, whether these three persons were contemporary with each other. If they are found to be so, then, it can be fairly presumed that the saint in question was contemporary with them all.

(i) Bu 'Alī Shāh Qalandar: He was a saint of Indiadwide fame, and a prominent personality in the history of the Indian Sūfis. He died on the 15th September, 1324 A. D. at Karnāl in Pānīpath.

(ii) Firūz Shāh : There were three Emperors of Delhi who bore the name of Firūz Shāh and we are to decide here which one of these three Emperors was contemporary with Bu 'Alī Shāh Qalandar. The first one was Ruknu'-d-Dīn Firūz Shāh. He reigned for only one year from the year 1235 A.D. to 1236 A.D. The second one was Jalālu'-d-Dīn Firūz Shāh Khiljī. He reigned for five years from 1290 A.D. to 1295 A.D. And the third one was Firūz Shāh Tughlaq who reigned for 37 years from 1351 A.D. to 1388 A.D. Among these three Emperors of Delhi, Jalālu'-d-Dīn Firūz Shāh Khiljī was contemporary with Bu 'Alī Shāh Qalandar and there is no doubt that he was the person mentioned in the story in connection with Shāh Saifu'-d-Dīn.

(iii) Ja'far Khān Ghāzī : This man has been described in the present tradition as the commander of Jalālu'-d-Dīn Khiljī and the conqueror of Pānduā. There is a historical person named 'Ulugh-i-A'zam Humāyūn Ja'far Khān Bahrām Itagīn, who conquered Saptagrāma, the capital of the southern part of Bengal during the reign of Ruknu'-d-Dīn Kaykāyūs Shāh (1291-1302 A.D.) the Sultān of Gaur.<sup>1</sup> At Saptagrāma, he built a mosque in the year 698 A.H.=1298 A.D. The Arabic inscription inlaid with wall of the mosque records that when he conquered the place, he erected this mosque and celebrated his victory over the Hindus by giving away wealth in charity to the Muslims.<sup>2</sup> On the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarasvatī at Tribeni was a temple built of stone, in which Ja'far Khān was buried.<sup>3</sup> In the year 713 A.H.=1313 A.D., Ja'far Khān founded a college in the city of Saptagrāma near Tribeni<sup>4</sup> and in the same year, his tomb was

1. (i) *Banglar Itihas*, Rakhaladas Banerji, Vol. II, p. 87;

(ii) Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. V, p. 248.

2. (i) *Banglar Itihas*, Op. cit. Vol. II, p. 88.

(ii) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXIX, 1870, part I, pp. 285-286.

3. *Banglar Itihas*, Op. cit. Vol. II, p. 87.

4. (i) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. XXXIX, 1870, pt. I, p. 287.

(ii) *Banglar Itihas*. Op. cit. Vol. II, p. 89.

erected within the old Hindu temple at Tribeni.<sup>1</sup> This conqueror of Saptagrāma, now under the jurisdiction of Hughli, was apparently the conqueror of Pānduā. It is also very likely that he first conquered Pānduā sometime between the year 1290 and 1295 A.D. and then he conquered Saptagrāma in 1298 A.D.

From this, it will be clearly seen that all the three persons, viz. Bu 'Alī Shāh Qalandar, Jalālul-'d-Dīn Firūz Shāh Khiljī and Ja'far Khān Ghāzī, were contemporary with each other. Therefore, the name of the saint Shāh Ṣafiu-'d-Dīn, associated with these three contemporary historical personages, cannot be a myth. There cannot be any room for doubt that Pānduā was conquered some time between 1290 and 1295 A.D. i.e. during the reign of Jalālul-'d-Dīn Khiljī, and that Shāh Ṣafiu-'d-Dīn died within the period covering the above mentioned years (1290-1295), and that Ja'far Khān conquered the city of Saptagrāma in 1298 A.D., just a few years after the conquest of Pānduā.

### 3. Shāh 'Abdullah Kirmani Bangālī. (alive in 1236 A.D.)

This saint was one of the early saints of India, and his tomb is at Khustigiri in the district of Birbhum. The date, anecdote and account recorded elsewhere<sup>2</sup> are not reliable on the ground that they do not tally with the history recorded in the *Tadhkirah*<sup>3</sup> which says that he was a Bengali by birth and was one of the early disciples of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī (1142-1236 A.D.) to form a new group of Sūfis. Shāh 'Abdullah called the *Kirmānīs* after his name. It is further Kirmani Bangālī recorded in the above-mentioned hagiology that his (alive in 1236 group was a very popular one having its hold on A.D.) the people of western Bengal, and other parts of India. From this it seems that though he was a Bengālī by birth, he used to use his paternal title "*Kirmānī*" as

1. (i) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series, Vol. XXXIX, 1870, pt. 1, p. 289.

(ii) *Banglar Itihas*, Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 90.

2. (i) Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870, p. 307.

(ii) *Bengal District Gazetteers—Birbhum*, 1910, p. 120.

3. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliya-i-Hind* pt. 1, p. 103.

a distinction of honour indicating his extra-territorial or foreign origin as the case may be and that he belonged to the thirteenth century group of Bengali saints.

However, besides these recorded facts, the anecdote associated with the name of this saint and current in the localities round about his 'dargah' is this that he was born in Kirman, a city in Persia, and while still a young boy, he left his native land and visited many places of Northern India, and at last became the disciple of Shāh Arjānī in Patna, who it is said, died in 1040 A. H.=1630 A. D. during the reign of Shāh Jahān. "Shāh Arjānī directed him to go to Bengal and on the eve of his departure his Pir gave him a tooth-pick of Chambeli wood telling him to remain at that place where he found the tooth-pick to be fresh and green. Shāh 'Abdullāh arrived in Birbhūm and stayed at Bargāon, near Bhadiā, where he performed several miracles. But as the tooth-pick remained dry, he went to Khustigiri. While he was in this village, one night he put the tooth-pick into his pillow and slept. In the morning, when he awoke from the sleep, he found to his surprise, his tooth-pick was fresh and green. He then planted it and it soon became a large tree, which is still seen. Shāh 'Abdullāh is especially renowned for the powers which he had over serpents, and now-a-days, in Birbhūm his name is repeated in formulas of enchantment".<sup>1</sup> This popular tradition should not have any preference to the facts recorded in the *Tadhkirah*, which has been compiled from original Persian sources of Northern India.

#### 4. Makhdūm Shāh Zahrū-u'-d-Dīn

His tomb is at Makhdūmnagar in Birbhūm. It is said that he was matrimonially connected with a certain Sultān of Gaur. He was a saint of exceptional merits and miraculous powers, by the exercise of which he is reputed to have converted all the inhabitants of the village into Islam and hence the ancient name of the village, now not known, was changed to the new one, (i.e. Makhdūmnagar.), after the title prefixed to his name. From the incidental

<sup>1</sup> Bengal District Gazetteer—Birbhūm, 1910, p.120.

reference to his matrimonial connection with the Sultān of Gaur, we can surmise that the saint flourished in Birbhūm before the close of the sixteenth century A. D. because no Sultān ascended on the throne of Gaur after that period.

Makhdūm Shāh Zahīru-'d-Dīn "is credited with having had the miraculous power of curing all sorts of diseases, and his tomb is frequented by votaries who came for relief from their ailments".<sup>1</sup>

#### 5. Hājī Bahrām Saqqā. (d. 1562 A. D.).

The tomb of this saint is under the jurisdiction of Burdwan Municipality. So far as we come to know of him from the authentic sources<sup>2</sup>, he was a water-carrier in the towns of Mecca and Najd, where he used to distribute water gratis to the thirsty travellers and wayfarers. He was an inhabitant of Turkistān, and belonged to the Bā'iyat Saqqāh (d. Sect of the Muslims. He came to Delhi during the 1562 A. D.). reign of Akbar (1556-1605) who loved and honoured him. Abū-'l-Faḍl and Fayḍī, the two famous courtiers of Akbar, did not like him and simply owing to their unfavourable attitude and machinations the saint had, at last, to leave Delhi for Bengal. When he reached Burdwan, he heard the name of a great Hindu Yogi called Jaypāl, who was reputed to possess many magical feats and practices of the Tāntriks. Bahrām met him at his residence situated in a beautiful garden belonging to the Yogi. When the interview took place, Jaypāl tried his best to discomfit Bahrām by his Tāntrik practices. The duel between the two saints was somewhat fantastic: when Jaypāl came to Bahrām flying in the air, he was forced by the miraculous power of the Muslim saint to descend on earth. Such was the nature of the two saints' duel, which is useless to relate here. After the duel, Jaypāl had to court an ignominious defeat at the hands of Bahrām and to change his old religion to the new one

1. *Bengal District Gazetteer*—Birbhūm, p. 120.

2. *Ibid.*—Burdwan, 1910, p. 190.

his victor. When Jaypāl was regularly initiated to the Islamic faith, he made over all his belongings to Bahrām and began to lead the life of a recluse in a thatched cottage built in one of the corners of his garden. Bahrām was living in the former residence of Jaypāl. Both Bahrām Saqqā and Jaypāl were buried in their respective residences after their death. When the news of Bahrām's death reached Delhi, Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) who used to respect the saint much, became very much moved and determined to perpetuate his memory by the grant of the revenue of a few villages in order to meet the expenditure of the tomb of the saint.

The epitaph of Bahrām Saqqā's tomb at Burdwan contains the following lines in Persian verse :—

“A fragment of verse from Fathī”

“What a wonderful saint in the world was Bahrām

Because, in gnosis, his heart was a sea.

The epitaph : From this world he departed to the next ;

Cautious was he of the transient world.

The calculation of the year of death of that unique

man-

When Fathī desired rightly from us,

An aerial voice came with regard to the date of

his death-

“Our darvish was Bahrām Saqqā”

The holy Hijrī year 970 (x)

From this epitaph we come to know that he died in the year

970 A. H. = 1562 A. D. and that he was a great saint pious and

learned, and well-known in his time.

Not far off from the tomb of Hajī Bahrām Saqqā, is a

tablet on a slab of stone which contains the Persian text of

(x) قطعه تاریخ از فتحی

زهی درویش عالم گشته بهرام + که در عرقان دل او بود دریا

زعالم رفت در راه شراندیب + شد از ملک فنا بهرام دانا

حساب سال فوت آن یگانه + زحق کردیم چون فتحی تمنا

لدا آمد که تاریخ و فاقش + بود درویش ما بهرام سقا

سنه ۹۷۰ هجری قمری

Imperial 'Sanad' by which the Emperor Akbar granted the revenue of the village of Faqīrpūr to the guardian (*mutawallī*) of the shrine of Bahrām for the maintenance of visitors to the grave of the saint. The translation of this *Sanad* runs thus :

"In the name of Allāh, the Clement and the Merciful".

"And give away wealth out of love for Him to the near of Kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and the beggars and (for the emancipation of) the captives".

(Qurān, Chap. II. Verse 177 ).

"By the grace of the auspicious Head of His Majesty, the King of Kings, the village of Faqīrpūr, has been given for the subsistence of the poor and the indigent, who visit the illuminated tomb of Pir Bahrām Saqqā, accordingly to a separate document ; and Shaykh Bakhtiyār be its Mutawallī ; those who (attempt to) alter this, will receive the curse of God and the abhorrence of the Prophet. Written in 1015 A.H. = 1606 A.D." (x)

The present (1930) Mutawallī of Bahrām Saqqā's tomb-property gets only a small sum of Rs.42-2as-3p. per mensem from the government. The village of Faqīrpūr, mentioned in the inscriptional Sanad is now included in the estate of the Maharājā of Burdwan.

#### 6. Pir Badr (d.1440 A.D.) and 7. Pir Majlis.

The tombs of these two famous darvishes of Burdwan lie

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
وَآتَى الْمَالَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ ذَوِي الْقُرْبَى وَالْيَتَامَى وَالْمَسَاكِينَ وَابْنَ  
السَّبِيلِ وَالسَّائِلِينَ وَفِي الرِّقَابِ. بِتَصَدِيقِ فَرَقِ مُبَارَكِ بَنَدِگَانِ حَضْرَتِ  
شاهنشاهی قریه فقیر پور جهت مذد معاش فقراء و مساکین مزارات  
انوار پیر بهرام سقا بموجب نوشته علیحدہ مقرر نموده شد و متولی شیخ  
بختیار باشد۔ تغیر کنند این قرین به لعنت خدا و تقرین رسول بوده  
باشد۔ موخر ۱۰۱۵، هجری قدسی



at a distance of about a mile each from the other at Kālā, now a sub-division of the district. Some four or five hundred years ago they preached Islām among the Hindus. Pir Badr (d. 1440 A. D.) which are useless to recount here. These two saints said to be responsible for the spread of Islām to this locality, and both Hindus and Muslims still show great respect for them.

Many places in Bengal claim to possess the tombs of Pir Badr. Kālā is one of them. But local information furnish us with no clue to any detailed account of the saint's life and the date of his death. There are few persons, who are inclined to identify this saint with Pir Badr of Chittagong district of whom we shall afterwards discuss in detail. But so far as we see, Pir Badr of Chittagong district, rather of Eastern Bengal, was a different saint. Pir Badr of Kālā might have been Badru-d-Dīn Badr-i-Ālam of Bihar who died in the year 1440 A. D.<sup>1</sup> This famous saint of Bihar travelled through many parts of Bengal and it is not improbable that he visited Kālā in the first half of the fifteenth century A. D. and that the people of Kālā erected a symbolic tomb in his name after his death in order to commemorate his visit to the place.

8. Ḥaḍrat Shāh Anwār Qulī Ḥalbi. (d. before 1375 A.D.)

The tomb of this saint is at Mullāsimlā, Furfura in the district of Hughli, and his real name was Muhammad Kabīr.<sup>2</sup> An old mosque and two stones beside his tomb are still existing, which have some sacred association with the saint. The two stones contain two deep marks, said to have been made by the constant rubbing of the saint's knee on them at the time Shāh Anwār Qulī of shaving. It is said that he was very fond of mirrors and hence people still offer mirrors to his tomb in fulfilment of their vows generally made for the purpose of success in any undertaking or business. People say, the mosque was erected after his death

1. Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal, p. 94.

2. Bengal District Gazetteer,—Hughli, 1912, p. 302.

by a certain noble for the facility of prayers offered during the time of visit to the saint's tomb. Architectural experts of Muslim Bengal are of the opinion that this mosque belongs to that group of Pathan mosques which were erected between the year 1460 A.D. to 1519 A.D.<sup>1</sup> But there is no inscription attached to the mosque to testify to the conclusion of the experts. However, an inscription on black basalt in Arabic Tughrā characters is found on the gate of the shrine, which records the building of a mosque by the Great Khān 'Ulugh Makhlis Khān in 777 A.H. 1375 A.D.<sup>2</sup> From this, it can be easily understood that this inscription was formerly attached to the mosque and afterwards removed to be fixed on the gate of the shrine which is of comparatively recent built. Very few mosques in Bengal were erected prior to the death of a saint with whom they have got any connection. Hence, we can reasonably conclude that the saint Shāh Anwār Qul Halbī died before the year 1375 A.D.

#### 9. Khwājah Anwār Shāh (d.1715 A.D.)

His tomb is near the town of Burdwan. No elaborate account of this saint is now available. It is said that Khwājah Anwār he died in a battle and Farrukh Shāh, the Emperor Shah(d.1715A.D) of Delhi bore the cost of the erection of his tomb. (1715 A.D.) The epitaph of his grave records the year 1127A.H. as date of his death.

1. [Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal., 1910, pp.27-28.]

2. *Ibid*, 1870, pp. 291-292.

## Chapter IX

### History of the Sufis of Bengal—Banga Centre.

This centre comprises Dacca, Mymensingh, Sylhet, Pabna, Bogra, Rajshahi, Faridpur and Bakerganj districts. The main centre of the darvish activities seems to have been constituted in that part of this centre, which included the four of the Centre: district of Pabna, Bogra, Mymensing and Dacca. Though the district of Rajshahi does not come under the pale of old Banga, yet it has been brought under the jurisdiction of present centre for the reason that the district was under the complete influence of the saints of Banga. Sylhet is in the Chittagong Division: yet it has been included in this centre for the same reason.

From the chronological point of view, this seems to be the most ancient centre among all the Sufi centres of Bengal. Non-Indian Sufi activities are traditionally traceable in this centre from a time as early as the eleventh century A.D. A number of stories that mostly give somewhat fabulous accounts of the sporadic attempts of Sufis, belonging to Arabia, Persia and their neighbouring countries to proselytise the inhabitants of this part of the country are still current in many places. Owing to the absence of reliable historical evidences, we cannot, of course, rely too much on them; yet it seems that fabulous character of these stories hint at an age anterior to the Turki conquest. There is little doubt that due to a long lapse of time, the memory of those, in which the real stories of these early Sufis were enshrined, has gradually faded away to make rooms for incredible stories enwrapped with myths.

The number of the Sufis of this centre is a large one. From the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D., Sufis from Northern India and other parts of the country, began to flock

to this part of Bengal. Many of these Sūfis are now either totally forgotten or known only by their names and identification of graves. Mahāsthāna in the district of Bogra and Bikrampur and Sonārgaon in the district of Dacca, are the most ancient places in this centre, which were the capitals of Hindu and Muslim Kings of East Bengal. These were the most popular places before the Turki period and this is perhaps the reason, why the Sūfis, who wished to have real relations with the common folk, came in large numbers to these places. Incessant influx of the Sūfis and their continual missionary propaganda produced the expected result of popularising Islām among the indigenous people who ultimately embraced it in large numbers. It is quite apparent that one of the causes of overwhelming majority of Muslim population in this part of Bengal, is this incessant Sūfi propaganda among the masses.

#### 1. Shāh Sultān Balkhī.

The tomb of this famous Sūfi of Bogra district is in Mahāsthāna, a place of archaeological and antiquarian interest.<sup>1</sup> He belongs to that earlier group of Muslim Shāh Sultān Balkhī preachers whose history is well-nigh lost.

However, a legend in connection with the saint is still current among the people of the locality and that may be briefly described in the following manner : It is said that Shāh Sultān was the son of one Asghar, the King of Balkh. On his father's death, he ascended the throne and became excessively luxurious in his mode of life, he became hopelessly indifferent to the administration of his kingdom and consequently a period of misrule followed. During this time, the following incident happened, and this ultimately brought a thorough change in the life of the King.

Rolling in wealth and luxury, while the days of Shāh Sultān were smoothly passing on, one day, he had the chance to chas-

<sup>1</sup> District Gazetteers of Eastern Bengal and Assam—Bogra, 1910 p.36.

tise one of his slave girls for her want of manners in sleeping on a royal settee. Being severely beaten by the whip, in the presence of the King, the maid servant is said to have exclaimed that only for the pleasure and comfort of a moment, which she enjoyed from cohabitation with the King, she was so cruelly dealt with and that she did not know what a severe punishment in hell was in store for the King who was daily enjoying the best possible comfort in this world. This exclamation touched a deep chord in the King's heart and from that very day he began to brood over the past conduct of his life. Within a few days after, he renounced the throne and went out on an indefinite journey in search of divine truth that would be able to illuminate the divine soul in him. After a long journey, he reached the town of Damascus where he met with a great saint named Tawfiq whom he served for nearly thirty-six years in various capacities of a sweeper, a servant, and a disciple. On the expiry of this long period of humiliating services, he was able to obtain the divine favour (*tawajjah*) of Tawfiq and was ordered by him to go to Bengal for propagating Islām among the heathen.

After this, he journeyed to Bengal by water, reached Sandvipa (in the Bay of Bengal on the mouth of the Ganges?) stayed there for sometime, crossed the sea by means of riding on a huge fish, and then reached Harirāmnagar (Harirāmpur in Dacca?), a very populous and beautiful city on the coast of the sea. At that time, a powerful Hindu Rājā named Balarām, who was very much devoted to the goddess Kālī, was reigning in that city. On his arrival at the city, Shah Sulṭān directly approached the royal temple, where there was a big image of Kālī, along with other innumerable small and less important images. When he reached the temple, he cried out all on a sudden the formula of the "*adhān*" (prayer-call), whereby all the images in the temple fell down one by one on the ground and were shattered to pieces. The Rājā heard this miraculous story and determined to drive the saint out of his Kingdom. He began to send his army batch by batch for

the purpose, but the royal army had to give way to saint's prodigies of valour. At last the Rājā personally came to drive him away but he was himself killed. The minister of the Rājā embraced Islām after the defeat of his master and was installed on the throne by the saint.

After the conquest of Harirāmnagar, the saint made up his mind to visit the kingdom of Rājā Paraśurām, the then reigning king of Mahāsthān in the district of Bogra. The Rājā had a beautiful daughter named Ratnamānī and a sister called Śilādevī, who was very notorious for her Tāntrik knowledge and magical practices. The Rājā used to perform a human sacrifice once a year before the image of Kālī, the goddess whom Śilādevī used to worship daily for success in her Tantrik and magical practices. While living in Harirāmnagar, the saint heard this and resolved to convert the King and his sister to Islām. In due course, the saint reached Mahāsthān and prayed to the King only for a ground measuring a cubit and a quarter outside the palace, so that he might spread his small prayer-carpet over it. As the Rājā had already heard of the activities of the saint in other places outside the jurisdiction of his kingdom, he at once granted his prayer with the hope that the saint, being pleased with him, would not disturb the peace of his country. But to the utter amazement of all, when the saint spread his prayer-carpet, it began gradually to expand and cover the whole place around the palace. This miraculous event terrified the King who consulted his sister Śilādevī on the matter. Śilādevī consoled her brother to wait and see how her magical powers could overpower the magic of the saint. Then a regular duel of magic took place between Śilādevī and the saint. This decisively proved superiority of the spiritual power of Shāh Sulṭān. Śilādevī being defeated and ashamed of her conduct repaired to the temple of Kālī and shut the door against other intruders.

Thus being despaired of peacefully driving away the saint the King Paraśurām had at last to take recourse to force. He

declared war against the saint and died fighting. His minister who faithfully fought with the saint after the fall of his master, had to sacrifice his life in the hand of the invincible foe. In this way the battle was won by the Parasuram and saint and then he sought to find out the magi-  
 Defeat of Raja the conquest of cian Śilādevī, whom he wished to imprison. After Mahasthana a long search in the palace, where Ratnamānī, the unmarried young daughter of the Rājā was made prisoner and converted to Islām, the saint came to know that Śilādevī had shut herself up in the temple of Kālī. The saint then proceeded to the temple. But, in the meantime, Śilādevī came to know of the fate of her niece Ratnamānī and determined to flee from the temple with intension of drowning herself in the river Karatoyā flowing nearby. She had no sooner opened the door of the temple, than she saw that the saint Shāh Sultān was fast approaching her. She hurriedly ran to the river and before she could be captured, she jumped into the river and drowned herself. Her niece Ratnamānī was married to one Surkhāb who is said to have been general of Paras'urām, and was afterwards converted to Islām.

In this way Mahāsthān is said to have been conquered by the Muslims. After the conquest, the saint built him a mosque and a monastery, from which he preached Islām for a long time and was buried there on his death. That particular portion of the Karatoyā, where Śilādevī was drowned, is even now called "Śilādevī Ghāt" and it is now a place of Hindu of pilgrimage to the Hindus. During the time of and Muslim Pilgrimage "Paushnārāyanī Yoga", a fair is held on the bank of the Karatoyā, when thousands of Hindu pilgrims still annually take a bath in the "Śilādevī Ghāt" with a pious belief that the water of the river flowing by that memorable, ghāt" can sanctify them. The Muhammadans too attend the fair in thousands and commemorate the victory of Shāh Sultān over King Parasurām and hold mass prayer and other formalities approved by Islam. Mahāsthān has thus become a place of sanctity to the Hindus and Muslims alike.

From the story, just now related, it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion with regard the date of the incident. Modern archaeological researches on the antiquities of Mahāsthāna show a number of interesting Buddhistic remains.

A brief discussion on the antiquity of the story. "It is thus most probable that the stupendous ruins which are now known as the Mahāsthāna Gaḍ are the relics of the identical town of Paundravardhana which was visited by the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, in the seventh century A.D.

Mahāsthāna is thus one of the most ancient places in this part of Bengal".<sup>1</sup> In the light of archaeological evidences on the antiquities of Mahāsthāna and fabulous characteristics of the legend related in connection with the place, if we ponder over the matter as a whole, it seems probable that the conquest of Mahāsthāna by the Muslims took place before the Turki conquest of Bengal. Of course this is only our conjecture and not conviction.

## 2. SHĀH MUHAMMAD SULṬĀN RŪMĪ.

( alive in 1053 A.D. )

The tomb of this saint is in Madanpur in Netrakoṇā subdivision of the district of Mymensing. We have Shah Md. Sulṭan already discussed briefly the life of this saint in the Rūmī (alive in 1053 A.D.) opening chapter of the book (vide p. 5). The local tradition about the activities of the saint is this :

When the saint came to Mymensing and settled in the village of Madanpur, the locality was then under the rule of a powerful Koch King. There were no Muslims in the jurisdiction of the King except the saint and a few of his companions, whose tombs are now identified in the cemetery adjoining to the shrine of the saint. After his settlement in the village, he attracted many people to him by the performance of various miraculous deeds, which are useless to be related here. It is said that whoever came in contact with the saint, accepted Islam and became a devoted follower of the saint. In course of a short

1. District Gazetteers of Eastern Bengal and Assam—Bogra, 1910 p. 153.



time, Koch King came to know of the fact and became very much alarmed at the success of the saint. The King then sent for the saint who, when brought before him was, ordered to explain his activities. The saint pleaded his innocence before the King by attributing his activities to spiritual power, granted to him by God. In order to test the saint, the King ordered deadly poison to be administered to him. He quaffed off a glass of the poison reciting the formula of "*Bismillāh*" (lit. in the name of Allāh I begin). To the utter amazement of the King, the saint successfully stood the test and all of those who were present voluntarily accepted Islām as a matter of course. The King became very much pleased to see the miracle and ordered to dedicate the whole village of Madanpur to the saint.

There is a big rent-free estate attached to the shrine of Shāh Sulṭān in Madanpur. This estate is said to be the remnant of still a bigger estate once dedicated by the Koch King to the saint. In the year 1829 A.D., when the Government tried to resume the estate, the "*Mutawali*" (i.e. the guardian of the shrine and the property attached to a *dargāh*) exhibited an old Persian document, executed in the year 1082 A.H.=1671 A.D., on the strength of which a larger portion of the estate was released in favour of the "*Mutawali*". In this document, it was recorded that Shāh Muḥammad Sulṭān Rūmī came with his preceptor Sayyid Shāh Surkh Khul Antiah to Madanpur and settled in it in the year 445 A.H.=1053 A.D. As to the reliability of this date of the saint's settlement at Madanpur, it may be noted that the date should not be regarded as unreliable; for, it was recorded in a document executed as early as 1671 A.D.

### 3. BĀBĀ ĀDAM SHAHID.

( d. 1119 A.D. ? )

The tomb of this famous saint of Eastern Bengal is in the village of Abdullāhpur in Bikrampur, Dacca. There is a dilapi-

dated mosque called the "Masjid of Ādam Shahīd" near the tomb of the saint. Even its present condition

3. shows that it was a very beautiful mosque that Bābā Ādam represented the Pathan mosques in Bengal. An Shahīd ( d. 1119 Arabic inscription of the time of Jalālū-'d-Dīn A. D. ) Fath Shāh ( 1482-1487 ) attached to this mosque, records that in the year 888 A.H.=1483 A.D., the mosque was built by one Kāfur.<sup>1</sup> However, the story relating the activities of Bābā Ādam is a famous one in Local tradition, every part of Eastern Bengal. Many versions of this story, with only a little alterations and additions are still current in many localities of Eastern Bengal and we give below in brief the main story which may be helpful to ascertain the historicity of the saint.

Bābā Ādam was a wonderful saint who came to Abdullāpūr with a small detachment of Muslim troops. His soldiers pitched their tents in the village and slaughtered a cow. Unfortunately, a kite swooped down on a piece of its traditional acc- flesh while the Muslims were preparing it for cook-  
 unt of the fight ing and flew away with it over the Hindu garrison.  
 of Bābā Ādam Just at that time a second kite attacked the former  
 with King Ball- to snatch it away and a quarrel between the two  
 āla Sena of followed. Consequently, the piece of flesh dropped  
 Bikrampur. on the garrison. The Hindus recognized that the  
 piece of flesh was of a slaughtered cow and they  
 intimated the fact to King Ballāla Sena who was then reigning  
 in Bikrampur. The King inquired of the matter and came to  
 know that "Yavanas" ( Muslims ) had come to fight with him.  
 After due preparation made for a fight, the King ordered his forces  
 to be mobilized against the "Yavanas". Then a protracted  
 battle followed between the "Yavanās" and the Hindus and it  
 continued for a fortnight. The Hindus found on the four-  
 teenth day that they have sustained heavy losses and that the  
 "Yavanas" were invincible. The discouraging condition then

1. J.A.S.B., Old Series, Vol. XLII, 1873, pt. I. p. 284.

prevailing amongst his soldiers, compelled Rājā Ballālā Sena to take the final step, on the fifteenth day, of personally commanding his soldiers in the battle field. But the King himself was not very sanguine of success; he was always entertaining a presentiment in his mind. This is why he made all necessary preparations to save the royal family from the molestation of the "Yavanas", in case they gain a victory over him. Before he was out to fight with the Muslims, Ballālā Sena ordered to prepare a big funeral-pyre (*chitā*) within the boundary of the palace and gave instructions to all the ladies of his *seraglio* to immolate them in it on the moment they came to know of his defeat. In order to serve as a signal to his defeat, he took a trained pigeon concealed underneath his garments.

After these arrangements, Ballālā Sena went to the battle-field and fought valiently with the Muslims, who could not, this time, bear the brunt of attack of their enemies, and courted martyrdom one by one excepting Bābā Ādam to show his wonderful prodigies of valour in a single fight with the Hindus. In the long run Bābā Ādam understood that the time of his death drew near; so he retired to a corner of the battle-field to perform his last prayer. While the saint was devotionally doing this, King Ballālā Sena ran to him in fury and began to strike his neck with his (the Rājā's) sword; but to his utter amazement, he could not sustain any injury on the person of the saint. Underneath the blade of Ballālā's sword, Bābā Ādam prayed unruffled for a long time, and when he became free, he ordered the King to leave his sword and take the saint's one and strike a blow to the neck. The King did it and the saint was beheaded. All the Muslims were thus extirpated.

Rājā Ballālā Sena was extremely glad at the victory. He was wholly besmeared with blood which he liked to cleanse before he left the battle field. There was a tank near by, to which he proceeded for a wash. When he reached the tank, he took off his clothes one by one from his body and began to wash them. Unfortunately, he forgot to take care of the pigeon kept concealed under his garments. Unnoticed the pigeon flew away to the palace and at the sight of it, all the ladies of the King's *seraglio*

jumped into the burning fire. Having taken the bath, the King remembered the pigeon and the instruction thereof, and hastened to the palace to witness a horrible scene which so deeply moved him as to burn himself in the same funeral-pyre (*chitā*), where all his relatives were burning for his own mistake.

It is said that when Bābā Ādam was killed by Rājā Ballāl Sena, his body was buried in Abdullāhpur and his head in Sylhet. Consequently two *dargāhs* were erected by people in these two places situated at a long long distance from each other. We do not know, who survived the saint to bury his body and his head after his death.

We have already referred to the date ( 1483 A. D. ) recorded in the inscription attached to the mosque of Bābā Ādam. From this we can safely conclude that the saint died before the year 1483 A. D. It is a known fact that the mosques built in Bengal

in connection with the *dargāhs* were not generally Historical exa- erected before the death of the saints or before their mination of the life-time. That the inscription does not refer to the story.

name of the saint, is not an excuse to hold the view that the mosque was built before Bābā Ādam. There are many mosques in Bengal within the enclosure of *dargāhs* which are known to be built after the saints' death, yet they do not contain any inscriptions referring to the name of the saints with whom these mosques are associated.

Let us now examine the story we have related above. Exceptional popularity of the story among the common folk of Eastern Bengal and a part of Assam speaks of its hoary antiquity on the one hand and a clear reference of it\* occurring in an

\* “অথা বর্ষান্তরে প্রাপ্তে দৈব চক্রাং স্মদারুণাং

বিক্রপূর মধ্যে চ রামপাল গ্রামে তথা ॥

বারাদুর্ম, নাম শ্লেচ্ছোহসৌ যুদ্ধার্থে সমুপাগতঃ ।

যযৌস যুদ্ধে চ বজ্রাল বিপক্ষ সম্মুখং তথা ॥

প্রণম্য মাতরং জীভ্যো দস্তালিঙ্গন চূষনং ।

ত্রিমোহকবংশ রাজানাং বাপ্পাকুলিত লোচনৈঃ ॥

( পরপৃষ্ঠা দৃষ্টব্য )

old apocryphal (?) Sanscrit book "*Ballāla Charitam*" by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, on the other. In the story we meet with only one historical name and that is of King Ballāla Sena. On his own authority Mr. Jogendra Nāth Gupta, the author of the "*History of Bikrampur*" in Bengali writes that there were two Kings in Bengal of the same name of Ballāla Sena, the first one being the son of Vijaya Sena, and the second one, the son of Beda Sena or Viswakatāta (?). Both of them had an intimate relation with Bikrampur.<sup>1</sup> According to him, Ballāla Sena I, reigned from 1118 A. D. to 1168 A. D.<sup>2</sup> and Ballāla Sena II was alive in 1378 A. D.<sup>3</sup> and during the reign of this Ballāla Sena II, the saint Bābā Ādam attacked Bikrampur and was killed in the fight with him.

Unfortunately, we are unable to agree with the author in all these historical data. His procedure is not strictly historical. His theory of the existence of two Ballāla Senas is not of doubtful origin only, but seems to be false altogether. The only Ballāla Sena, of whom the historians know, was the son of Vijaya Sena and the father of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the last Hindu King of Nadiyā. Lakṣmaṇa Sena had only three sons, Mādhava, Visvarūpa, and Kesava.<sup>4</sup> It should be noted here that up to the present time, only four names ( viz. Mādhava Sena, Nanjā, Danujmardandeva, and Mahendradeva ) of Hindu Kings reigning in

যদিস্যাদ শিবং যুদ্ধে কিং নো নাথ গতিস্তদা ।

ততো গদগদসৌ রাজা সংচুষ্যালিঙ্গং তাঃ পুনঃ ॥

দুরাত্মা যবনাং ধ্বংসং সতীত্বং রক্ষিতুং চ বৈ ।

শ্রেয় যত্নাচ্চ যুদ্ধাকং চিতাদাহেন নিশ্চিতং ॥

কপোত যুগলং দূতং মমামঙ্গলসূচকং ।

পূর্ব প্রস্তুত চিতায়াং দৃষ্টেবমরুণং ক্রবৎ ॥"

বিক্রমপুরের ইতিহাস, পৃঃ ৪৭

1. History of Bikrampur ( in Bengali ) p. 34.

2. Ibid., p. 38.

3. Ibid., foot note p. 52.

4. Ibid., foot note pp. 51-52.

5. *Banglar Itihās*, Rakhal Das Bandyopadhyay, Vol. II, p. 12.

Bengal after the Turkī conquest of the country, have been discovered. Among these four post-Turkī Hindu Kings, Mādhu Sena was alive in 1298 A. D. and he is identified with Mādhava Sena, son of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.<sup>1</sup> Nanjā was reigning in Eastern Bengal in 1283 A. D., the year of assassination of the rebellious Mughīthu-'d-Dīn Tughral (1278-82).<sup>2</sup> Sufficient numismatic evidences show that Danujmardandeva was the title of Rājā Ganeś<sup>3</sup> and Mahendradeva was either the name of Jadu alias Jalālu-'d-Dīn, the son of Rājā Ganeś<sup>4</sup> or he was the brother of Jalālu-'d-Dīn<sup>5</sup>. Besides these names of post-Turkī Hindu Kings, we know no other Ballāla Sena reigning in 1378 A. D. in Bikrampur, or in any other parts of Eastern Bengal. Therefore, the theory of the existence of a second Ballāla Sena is quite untenable.

Then, are we to believe that during the reign of Rājā Ballāla Sena, the son of Viyaya Sena and the father of Lakṣmaṇa Sen, the warrior-saint Bābā Ādam came to Bengal?

Concluding remark. Copperplates and epigraphical evidences show that Rājā Ballāla Sena reigned from the beginning of the twelfth century A. D. up to the year 1119 A. D.<sup>6</sup>

If the story be true Bābā Ādam was alive up to 1119 A. D., the year of Rājā Ballāla Sena's death. But unless reliable and authentic historical evidences shed more light on the present popular legend, it is not at all expedient to jump at once into any definite conclusion.

#### 4. MAKHDŪM SHĀH DAWLAH SHAHID,

(alive in the latter part of the thirteenth century A. D.).

The tomb of this saint is in Shāhzādpur in the district of Pābnā. An interesting account of the traditional activities of

1. *Banglār Itihās*, Vol. II, p. 20.

2. *Ibid.*

3. (i) Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, 1930—Presidential Address,—H. E. Stapleton. 1930, pp. 14-20 : (ii) Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal—N. K. Bhattachāli, (Heffer & Sons, England, 1922), pp. 110-116.

4. *Ibid* (ii) pp. 122-124.

5. *Ibid* (i) pp. 17-18.

6. *Banglār Itihās*, Vol. I, 2nd. edi. pp. 320-323.

this saint will be found in an article "On the Antiquity and Traditions of Shāhzādpūr", published in the Journal Makhdūm Shāh of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, part I, No. 3, Dawlah (13th Century). 1904. We summarise the tradition below :

Mu'āz-ibn-Jabl, the King of Yamen in Arabia had a daughter and two sons known as "Shāhzādahs" (Persian title for Arab princes ?). Makhdūm Shāh Dawlah was one of them, who desired to preach Islām abroad. With the permission of his father, he left his native land with a large party including 12 darvishes, his sister and his three nephews (i) Khwājah Kalān Dānishmand (again a Persian name ?) (ii) Khwājah Nūr, and (iii) Khwājah Anwār. When he reached Bukhārā, he met with Shāh Jalālu-'d-Dīn Bukhārī (1196-1291) who presented him a pair of grey pigeons as a token of good wishes to the party. From Bukhārā, the party proceeded to Bengal by water (River or Sea ?) and after a long voyage reached modern Shāhzādpūr where they landed and settled. At that time the locality was under a Hindu Rāja of Bihār who heard the news of Muslim settlement in his jurisdiction. He did not like to allow the Muslims in his dominion and hence tried to expel them. In the engagement that ensued between the King and the Muslims, Makhdūm Shāh Dawlah with all his men save his nephew Khwājah Nūr, had to sacrifice his life. His surviving nephew Khwājah Nūr is said to have been married to one of the princess of Sonārgāon afterwards. The ancestors of the present Muslim inhabitants of Shāhzādpūr are said to have come from Sonārgāon with the princess married to Khwājah Nūr. The grey pigeons of the locality are said to be the young ones of that pair of pigeons which Jalālu-'d-Dīn Bukhārī given to Shāh Dawlah as present and hence are now called "Jalālī Kabūtar" or the pigeons of Jalālu-'d-Dīn.\* Among the twelve darvishes who accompanied Makhdūm Shāh Dawlah, the following eight names are now known :

\* As to the genesis of "Jalālī Kabūtar" or the pigeon of Jalāl, there is another story current in Eastern Bengal and Assam. According to this story the grey wild pigeons are called "Jalālī Kabūtar" because of the

1. Shamsu-'d-Dīn Tabrizī : He is said to have been the teacher of Makhdūm Shāh Dawlah. His tomb is enclosed by a separate wall. (This saint never came to Indiā, not to speak of Bengal). He died on the 17th December, 1273 A. D.

2. Shāh Yūsuf:- It is said that the Yūsuf Shāhī Parganah, now under the jurisdiction of Shāhzādpūr was named after this saint. His tomb is within the enclosure of the walls round the tomb of Shāh Dawlah.

3. Shāh Khingar ( a Persian name meaning "Steed-maker" )
4. Shāh Ajmal
5. Hāsila Pir
6. Shāh Bodlā ( Indian ? )
7. Shāh Aḥmad
8. Shāh Maḥmūd.

Nothing definite is known about these saints.

An annual fair is held in the shrine during the end of the Bengali month of *Chaitra* ( April ). It lasts for about a month and is attended by both Hindus and Muslims. During the time of this fair, offerings of rice, sugar, sweets, fowl and copper for "*Chiraghi*" ( i. e. an offering of a votive lamp at the tomb of a saint ) are liberally made by the visitors for or in fulfilment of their vows.

The conclusion, drawn by the writer of the dissertation with regard to the date of Shāh Dawlah is not at all satisfactory. He is of the opinion that the saint came to Bengal during the sixth century A.H.=twelfth century A. D. It can by no means be true. If we believe in the tradition ( and the writer has also believed in it ) and in the time of historical personages, with whom Shāh Dawlah is said to have connections, we can not be satisfied with the conclusion drawn by the writer of the dissertation. Shāh Jalāl-'d-Dīn Bukhārī and Shamsu-'d-Dīn Tabrizī are the two saints of

fact that they were pet pigeons of Shāh Jalāl of Sylhet. This is the most popular version of the genesis of the wild pigeons.



historical importance with whom Shāh Dawlah was contemporary. The life-time of Shāh Jalālu 'd-Dīn Bukhārī covers the period between 1196 A. D. and 1291 A.D.<sup>1</sup> and Shamsu-'d-Dīn Tabrizī, the teacher of the famous Persian Ṣufī poet Mawlānā Jalālu-'d-Dīn Rūmī, died on the 17th December, 1273 A. D.<sup>2</sup> It seems by the trend of tradition related above, that Makhdūm Shāh Dawlah Shahīd was a younger contemporary of the above two darvishes. Therefore, he was probably alive in the latter part of the thirteenth century, A.D.

#### 5. SHAH JALAL MUJARRAD-I-YAMANI

( d. 1346 A.D. ).

The tomb of this famous saint of Bengal is in the district of Sylhet. This darvish is largely responsible for

5. the propagation of Islām in the Eastern part of Shah Jalāl Bengal and Western part of Assam. The great (d. 1346 A.D.) respect he still commands, of the Muslims of Bengal and Assam, may be cited as a proof of his tremendous influence, which he once exerted over the populace of these two provinces. Until recently, many scholars have tried to give the life-sketch of this saint<sup>3</sup>. Unfortunately from the chronological point of view, none of their attempts is satisfactory. Hence, it is necessary to re-examine here their observations under the light of new materials that have come to our hands.

According to "*Suhal-i-Yaman*", a Persian hagiology of Shāh Jalāl, compiled in the year 1860 by Naṣīru-'d-Dīn Haldār, a Munsif of Sylhet, his full name was Shāh Jalāl Mujarrad-i-Yamani. He was the son of a saint of Yaman named Muḥammad. In his boyhood, he lost his parents and thus became orphan. His maternal uncle, one Sayyid Aḥmad Kabīr Suhrawardī, a reputed saint and savant became his guardian on the death of his parents. This man

1. *Ain*, Vol. III, p. 369 ; *Tadhkirah*, part. III, pp. 139-141 and 147-150.

2. *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*—H. G. Keene ( 1894 edition ), pp. 376-377.

3. (i) *History of Assam*. 2nd. edi, pp. 275-276 ; pp. 70-73 ; ( ii ) Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal—H. Blochmann ; ( iii ) J.A.S.B. 1873, pp. 70-73 and p. 278.

was under the instruction of Shāh Jalālu-'d-Dīn Bukhārī ( 1196-1291 ). For a period of thirty years, Shāh Jalāl was under the care of his maternal uncle. During this time, he had been receiving ascetic training in the school of his maternal uncle who gave a handful of earth to his nephew on the expiry of his training period with the instruction to travel abroad in His wanderings, search of a land containing earth similar in colour and smell to that handed over to him. This instruction was an indication of his uncle's feelings for making that land his permanent abode and field of activity.

With this earth as well as the instruction of his maternal uncle, Shāh Jalāl was out on his journey. One day, while he was passing through a city of Yaman the local Sultān disbelieved Yaman, his divine power and attainments, treated him discourteously, and died as a result of his own misconduct. The prince studied the course of events, became very much devoted to the saint and accompanied him when he left Yaman.

After a long journey, Shāh Jalāl and the prince of Yaman, reached Delhi where Nizāmu-'d-Dīn Awliyā (1236-1325) gave them a cordial reception. They lived with Nizāmu-'d-Dīn Awliyā for a few days and then left Delhi for Bengal. On the eve of their departure from Delhi, Nizāmu-'d-Dīn Awliyā gave them a pair of grey pigeons as a token of good wishes on their journey.

In course of time, he reached Bengal. We know nothing definite about his activities here. In all probability, he was not inactive in the country and was preaching Islām Bengal in or around Gaur, the metropolis.

While he was still in Bengal, a great misfortune befell on one of the pious Muslim inhabitants of Assam, named Shaykh Burhānu-'d Dīn. This led Shāh Jalāl to go ultimately to Assam and champion Muslim cause there. It is narrated Shaykh Burhānu-'d-Dīn made a vow to sacrifice a cow on the occasion of the birth of a son to him. In due course a son was born to him and he fulfilled his vow. But unfortunately, a kite carried off a piece of flesh of the sacrificed cow

and dropped it in the house of an orthodox Brahmin, who startled to see the sacrilegious act of cow-slaughter committed within the jurisdiction of Rājā Gaur Govinda, the then reigning King of Sylhet. The Brahmin informed the matter to the King and demanded an early remedy of this profanation committed within the boundary of his kingdom. Rājā Gaur Govinda took up the complaint in right earnest, sent for Burhānu-'d-Dīn and his newly born baby and after an enquiry into the matter, was convinced of his guilt. Then the King passed sentence of death on the baby and of amputation of his right hand on Burhānu-'d-Dīn. The sentence was promptly executed, and Burhānu-'d-Dīn left Sylhet for Gaur in Bengal. When the poor man reached Gaur, he asked the Sulṭān of his protection. The Sulṭān gave him the necessary protection and ordered his nephew (sister's son) Gaur Govinda's Sulṭān Sikandar to lead a punitive expedition to fight with the Sylhet. Gaur Govinda, the powerful magician King Muslims. of Sylhet, bravely faced the Muslim invaders under the command of Sulṭān Sikandar and successfully warding them off. The Sulṭān heard the news of his nephew's defeat and at once sent his general Naṣīru-'d-Dīn to his help. But Sikandar in spite of his auxiliary forces, had not the courage to renew the fight, unless he previously consulted some pious men on his fresh undertaking. At this time, Shāh Jalāl and Jalāl is said to have been fighting with the infidels his darvish army. with a band of 360 darvishes and the Prince consulted him on the matter. The saint encouraged the Prince prayed for his success in the war, and promised to help him in destroying the infidels.

After this the fight was resumed. The Muslims inflicted a heavy defeat on Gaur Govinda who had to flee to the mountainous tracts of Assam for shelter. The Muslims Muslim victory. conquered his territory and annexed it to the Kingdom of Gaur.

Sometime after the conquest of Sylhet, while one day Shāh Jalāl was absorbed in a protracted prayer, all on a sudden, he

discovered that the earth of the place was just similar in every respect to that given to him by his maternal uncle. Shāh Jalāl re- Therefore he determined to make his abode there mained in Sylhet. and dispose of other darvishes who were fighting with him. All of the saints excepting a few, returned to Bengal with the retreat of the Gaurian army and Shāh Jalāl passed the remaining portion of his life in the propagation of Islām in Sylhet where he was buried on his death in the year 591 A. H.= 1194 A. D. at the 62 year of his age.

This is the main account of the life and activities of Shāh Jalāl in Bengal and Assam. The date of his death recorded above is not reliable for reasons more than one. Many of the personages with whom Shāh Jalāl is said to have met at the time of his journey to Bengal, are men of later date than the date of his death. As for Jalāl's death. example, Jalālu-'d-Dīn Bukhārī ( 1196-1291 A. D.), the teacher of his maternal uncle Sayyid Aḥmad Kabīr Suhrawardī, and Nizāmu-'d-Dīn Awliyā ( 1236-1325 A.D. ) were not born, when Shāh Jalāl died in 1194 A.D. Moreover, the date of his death places him among those darvishes who came to Bengal before its conquest by the Muslims. But the case was not so. In conjunction with the Muslim soldiers of Gaur he fought with Rājā Gaur Govinda. Therefore we cannot rely on the date 1194 A.D. as the year of his death. It is therefore necessary to investigate afresh the time of this saint.

We are told that Shāh Jalāl met Nizāmu-'d-Dīn Awliyā of Delhi, who gave him a pair of grey pigeons. Nizāmu-'d-Dīn Awliyā died in 1325 A. D. Therefore Shāh Jalāl must have met him before that date.

In the "*Travels of Ibn-Baṭūṭah*" we find that the famous Traveller met with one great saint Shaykh Jalālu-'d-Dīn in the mountainous tracts of Kāmru (=Kāmrūpa),<sup>1</sup> which Ibn-Baṭūṭah and he went to visit from Sadkāwān (=Chittagon). He Shāh Jalāl. "once calls the saint Tabrizī and once Shīrāzī, which shows that he was not sure, if he was either.....No serious doubt is now entertained that it was Shāh

1. Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal,  
—N. K. Bhattaṅgli ( W. Heffer S. Sons, England, 1922 ), p. 138.

Jalāl, the famous saint of Sylhet, whom the Traveller went to see." Ibn-Baṭūṭah visited Bengal about the year 746 A. H. = 1345 A. D.<sup>1</sup> When in the next year, he went to China, he heard the news of Shāh Jalāl's death. Therefore Shāh Jalāl must have died in 1346 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

This date (1346 A.D.) of Shāh Jalāl's death is supported by other epigraphical records. Up till now three Arabic inscriptions have been discovered from the buildings around the tomb of Shāh Jalāl in Sylhet. The first one belongs to the reign of Abū-l-Muzaffar Yusuf Shāh (1478-1482), the son of Bārbak Shāh. It bears no date of execution and records no reference to the saint Shāh Jalāl.<sup>3</sup> Therefore it carries no weight for our present purpose. The second one was inscribed in the year 911 A.H. = 1505 A.D., during the reign of Ḥusayn Shāh (1493-1519). It records<sup>4</sup> that the

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

3. Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal, Blochmann, (1873) p. 69.

4. The Arabic text of the inscription :-

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الامر لهذه العمارة البقعة المباركة المنصوبه بدار الاحسان حرم  
الله تعالى من مخافه الزمان العابد العالى الكبير \*\*\* شيخ جلال مجرد  
كنياي قدس الله تعالى سره العزيز فى عهد سلطان علاء الدنيا والدين  
ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد ملكه و سلطانه بنا كرد خان اعظم  
وخاقان معظم خالص خان جامدار غير محلى و سر لشكر و وزير اقليم  
معظم آباد سنة احدى عشر و تسعمائة -

#### Translation:

In the name of God, the Merciful and the Clement. He who ordered the erection of this blessed building attached to the house of benefit (Silhet) —may God protect it against the ravages of time!— is the devotee, the high the great Shaykh Jalāl Mujarrad Kanyayī (the hermit of Kaniya) —may God the Almighty sanctify his dear secret! It was built during the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā' u-'d-Dunyā wa-'d-Dīn Abū-l-Muzaffar Ḥusayn Shāh, the king, by the great Khān, the exalted Khāqān, Khālīṣ Khān, Keeper of the wardrobe outside the palaces, commander and wazir of the district of Mu' azzamābad, in the year 911 A.H. = 1505 A.D.

building to which the inscription was attached, was erected by the order of the saint Shaykh Jalāl Mujarrad of Kaniyā to one Khālīs Khān the wazir of the district Mu'azzmabād.<sup>1</sup> If according to the statement of Ibn-Baṭūtah, Shāh Jalāl died in 1346 A.D. then how could he order in 1505 A. D. for the erection of the building recorded in the inscription? Surely this order was an order in dream like many others, we often hear of. Third inscription will clearly show that Shāh Jalāl was not alive to order for the erection of a building in 1505 A.D. The translation of the third inscription runs thus :

"In honour of the greatness of Shaykh-i-Mashā'ikh (?) Makhdūm Shaykh Jalāl Mujarrad son of Muḥammad.

"This first conquest by Islām of the town "Arṣah-i-Srihaṭ was by the hand of Sikandar Khān Ghāzī in the time of Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Dehlawī in the year 703 A. H.=1303 A. D.

"This building ( has been erected by ) Rukn Khān, the conqueror of Haṣht Gāmhāriyān, who being 'Wazīr' and general for many months at the time of the conquest of Kāmru, Kāmṭā, Jāznagar and Urishā, served in the army in several places in the train of King. ( Written ) in the year 918 A. H.=1512 A.D."<sup>2</sup>

This inscription tells us that Sikandar Khān Ghāzī conquered Sylhet for the first time in the year 1303 during the reign of Firūz Shāh. "According to legend still preserved in Sylhet, the district was wrested from Gaur Govinda, by King Shamsu'd-Din"<sup>3</sup> and according to "*Suhal-i-Yaman*", Sulṭān Sikandar conquered Sylhet by the order of his maternal uncle the Sulṭān of Gaur. Therefore, it is easy to understand that Firūz Shāh of

1. Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal Blochmann (1873) p. 85.

2. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1922, p. 413.

بمظنة شيخ المشايخ (؟) مخدوم شيخ جلال مجرد بن محمد  
اول فتح اسلام شهر عرصه سريهت بدست سكندر خان غازي درعهد سلطان  
فيروز شاه دهلوي سنة ثلث وتسعمائة اين عمارت ركن خان كه فتح  
كننده هشت گاهاريان وزير ولشكر بوده سهرها وقت فتح كاسرو و كاشا  
و جازلكر و اريشا لشكري كرده باشند جابجا بدنبال بادشاه سنة ثمان  
و عشر وتسعمائة x

3. Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal, Blochmann (1873) p. 73.

the inscription was none but Shamsu-'d-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, the Sultān of Gaur who reigned from 1302 A. D. to 1322 A. D. He was the grand-son of Sultān Ghayāthu-'d-Dīn Balban of Delhi (1265.87) and hence he had been rightly designated in the inscription as "Dehlawī". Evidently, Sikandar Khān Ghāzi of the inscription was the Sultān Sikandar of "*Suhal-i-Yaman*".

These facts prove conclusively that in the year 1303 A. D., the saint Shāh Jalāl was alive, because, the invasion of Sylhet was led by Sikandar Khān in conjunction with 360 darvish army of Shāh Jalāl. After the conquest

Conclusion. of Sylhet, all Muslims excepting the Saint and a few of his followers, left the country and Shāh Jalāl preached Islām there for a long time. Ibn Baṭṭah visited him 42 years (1345 A.D.) after the conquest of Sylhet and according to the Traveller's testimony, the saint died in 1346 A. D. at the age of 150 years.

#### 6. SAYYIDU-'L-'ĀRIFIN.

(Latter part of the 14th century)

The tomb of this saint in the village of Kālīsundī under the jurisdiction of police station Bauphāl in the district of Bākharganj. In the village of Kālīsundī an annual fair is still held to commemorate the death of the saint in the Bengali month of *Paus* (December). Both Hindus and Muslims attend the fair and give votive offerings to the grave of the saint for fulfilment of various desires.

The tradition still current in the locality is this in brief : Taymūr Lang, the famous warrior and conqueror, sent the darvish Sayyidu-'l-'Ārifin to Bengal for the propagation of Islām among the unbelievers. The saint came to Bengal and saw that the light of Islām was shining over every part of the country. So, he was travelling through different parts of the country in search of a place where Islām was yet to enter. In course of his wanderings by land and sea, he reached the district of Bākharganj where innumerable rivers were bars to his rapid progress. So he prayed to God to overcome the rivers by His grace, and all on a sudden it was revealed to him that he would be able to do

so in any way he liked. As he had no other object with him save a prayer-carpet which he never parted with in his life, he determined to cross the rivers with its help.

One day, he approached a river and spread out his prayer-carpet on the water, along with the utterance of the formula "*Bismillāh*" (= in the name of Allāh I begin), and he saw that it served the purpose of a good conveyance. He embarked on it and was floating down the river. While he was passing through the village of Kālīsundī, he saw that a Hindu girl named Kālī who belonged to the *Sundī* or wine dealer caste, was coming down from the bank to the river for washing the rice of her morning meal. The saint stopped and asked the girl to prepare the rice for his own meal. But the girl declined to do so for a Muhammadan, and unheedingly began to wash her rice in a vessel that was with her for the purpose. The saint then again asked the girl to look into her vessel and see, what had happened. This time the girl did so and was extremely astonished to see that the rice, which she was still washing had already been well-cooked. This miracle of the saint induced the girl to change her religion to Islām on the spot. She then informed the saint that the place was wholly inhabited by the Hindus and that he should preach Islām among them. The saint did so and the people of the locality still consider him as the first Muslim missionary and saint, who propagated Islām among them.

As for the origin of the fair, called the "*Kālīsundī melā*", it is said that the girl once requested the saint to grant her a boon, which would perpetuate her memory for ever. The boon of holding an annual fair was promptly granted, and hence the fair is still held and called "*Kālīsundī melā*" after the name of the girl.

This is the tradition that has come down to us in connection with the saint Sayyidul 'Ārifīn. In the absence of other reliable historical evidences, we are of the opinion that the saint came to Bākharganj during the reign of Taymūr Lang. He reigned from 1361 A.D. to 1405 A.D. Therefore the saint might have come to Bengal in the latter part of the fourteenth century A.D.



7. MAKHDŪM SHĀH or SHĀH MADKHŪM  
(Alive circa 1184 A. D.)

Shāh Makhdūm, the guardian saint of Rājshāhī, lies buried in a small mausoleum at Dargāhpārā, a locality named after the saint's shrine, situated at the Rajshahi Govern-

ment College campus. The inscription inlaid above the door of the shrine records the name of the saint as "Sayyid-i-Sanad Shāh Darwish".<sup>1</sup>

The earliest record available now in the office of the District Judge, Rājshāhī, the Administrator of the Dargah property, is an "Index of Papers of Appeal from Original Decree, No. 550 of 1904 (Probate)". Part II of this Index contains extracts from the 'Documentary Evidences' produced in the court. The "Seventh Extract" is a certified copy of a petition for mutation of name of the Mutawallī, dated 19th Bysak, 1204 B. S. (1877 A. D.). In this extract, the name of the saint occurring under the eleventh item, viz., "Any other particulars which the petitioner wishes to state", is as follows:

"*Hazrat shāh Makhdūm Rupos Aolia Shaheb*

deceased was in possession and enjoyment of this rent-free estate for a long time, under a gift from the Emperor Humayun Shah." (p. 17 of the said Index).

Leaving aside the consideration of other facts to be taken up later on, the name of the saint was said to have been 'Rū-pushh' along with a number of epithets prefixed. But unfortunately, the word 'Rū-pushh' itself is not a name, but an epithet meaning the 'Veiled One', i. e., one whose face has been veiled. Evidently none of these is a real name, -- all of them being epithets attributed to this saint whose name must have yielded place to the epithets only in course of time long gone by.

Yet, a full name of the saint has been recorded as "*Hazrat Shāh Makhdūm Jalālu'-d-Dīn Rū-pushh*" in one of the most uncritical, and as such, unauthentic publications recently printed and published by the Bengali Academy, Dacca, under the title

1. Vide 'Inscriptions of Bengal, volume IV, edited by Mr. Shamsu'-d-Din Ahmed, M. A., published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, pp. 271-276.

of "*Purba Pakistāner Şūfī Sādhak*" (1368 B. S.) or the "*Şūfī Saints of East Pakistan*" (1961 A. D.). Although no documentary records are available anywhere revealing the real name of the saint, yet this name cannot be accepted as genuine. It appears to me that due to a number of early saints bearing the name "Jalālu-'d-Dīn", (vide para 4), this name was attributed to Shāh Makhdūm very recently by those, who wanted to attribute a proper name to the saint. However, as the saint is universally known by one of his epithets, viz., "Shāh Makhdūm", we accept it as his name for all practical purposes.

People of all walks of life not only believe that Shāh Makhdūm is the guardian saint of Rājshāhī (old Rāmpūr-Boāliyā), but also an invisible power still existing to exert an influence on those, who came to Rājshāhī, the land of Makhdūm Shāh, to earn their livelihood. They never went back from Rājshāhī disappointed, and many of them often settled here permanently. Even the Government Officers, who came here in subordinate capacity on transfer, came back with a position higher than the previous one. On my personal enquiry about the origin of this belief, I find that although the present town of Rajshahi grew up on the soil of two villages, viz., Rāmpūr and Boāliyā (vide District Gazetter of Rajshahi), most of the town population numbering about 80,000 according to the census of 1961, have been formed of new settlers. And many of the Government officers, who were in the past or are at present posted at Rājshāhī, came or have come on transfer on promotion. There is no doubt that this simple fact contributed to the origin of such a distinctive belief in the minds of people of the town.

Shāh Makhdūm's dargah is a place of pilgrimage to the Muslims and Hindus alike. Local Hindus give votive offerings in the form of earthen lamps or candles, rice, sweetmeats, fruits, etc., to the shrine through Muslim agency and bow to it, while they pass by. Local Muslims offer 'chirāghī' or votive lamp and 'shūrīnī' or votive sweets to the 'dargah' in addition to the

performance of '*Ziyarat*' or pilgrimage throughout the whole year. Most of the newly married couples of Rājshāhi visit his *dargah* and invoke his blessings for the benefit of their conjugal life. On the 10th Muharram every year, a fair is held at the '*dargah*' where "*T'aziya*" parties of the town assemble to pay respects to the saint by singing "*Jārī-Gān*" or elegiac songs on the sad incident of Karbala and by giving a demonstration of "*Lāṭhi Khelā*" or game of mock fight with sticks and dummy swords.

A traditional account of the saint's arrival, his activities and his settlement at Rājshāhi, then known as Rāmpūr-Boāliya, is interesting. It is quite in consonance with many a legend of the early Muslim saints of Bengal, like Jalālu

4. Traditional -'d-Dīn Tabrizī ( d. 1225 A. D. ) of Pānduā (Gaud), Account. Shāh Jalāl Mujarrad-i-Yamanī ( d. 1346 A. D. ) of Sylhet, Makhdūm Shāh Jalālu-'d-Dīn Jahāngasht Bukhārī ( d. 1383 A. D. ) of Māhiganj, Rangpur, and many others, with respect to the tenor of narration and legendary form. The legend is as follows :

In the village of Rāmpūr on the north bank of the river Padmā, a local name of the river Ganges, there lived a number of fishermen. One day, while some of them were fishing in the river, they noticed yonder a very strange phenomenon : an unusually long man with a turban and an '*al\_khella*' ( loose garment) on was crossing the river on foot ( another version of the story being 'riding on a crocodile'). Leaning on the long '*asā*' or staff in his hand and putting on a pair of '*Khaḍam*' ( wooden slipper ), he was proceeding from the south to the north.

Struck with awe and wonder, all the fishermen at work in the river left their fishing hurriedly to reach the river bank. They assembled there to see the strange sight, and soon others too came crowding to swell their number. The fishermen assembled there, took him to be a naiad.

The strange man came leisurely to the north bank of the river and the fisherman bowed before him and prayed for his blessings. The man silently stood before them gazing intently all around and beckoned them to offer him food. They offered him forthwith what they could give as food in earthen dishes and

requested him to take it and oblige them. He sat down on the ground, took off his turban and covered the food with it. He then raised his hands in a praying mood, muttered something for a few minutes and removed the turban from the dishes. Lo ! the food turned into fishes and the earthen dishes into gold ones.

This '*Kirāmat*' convinced the fishermen of his supernatural power and they became his devotees. He then proceeded from the bank of the river to further north and sat down at a place now known as *Dargahpārā*. Here he began to live among the fishermen, preaching his creed among them. His fame as a man of supernatural power soon spread far and near, people began to visit him and enlist themselves as his disciples. Before long, Rāmpūr, a small village, turned out to be a sacred place of pilgrimage and the people began to settle in it to receive the full benefit of constant association of their Master. Gradually, Rāmpūr began to be over-populated and the people had to settle themselves in Boāliyā, another village adjacent to it. In this way, Rāmpūr-Boāliya formed the nucleus of a town to be known as Rajshāhī in due course.

The saint preached his creed for a long time and died on the 27th *Rajab* leaving behind him a large number of followers to mourn his death. He was a confirmed bachelor. Upto the present day, his '*Ushr*' or death anniversary is performed on the 27th *Rajab* of every lunar year at his dargah.

In fact, nothing more, traditional or otherwise is known of the saint Shāh Makhdūm, popularly called as Makhdūm. 5. Documentary Shāh, except a Persian inscription mentioned above. evidences. The text and English translation of this inscription are quoted below<sup>1</sup> for information :

موفق شد بنای گنبد قبر سید سند مرحوم - مغفور - الواصل الى  
جوار الله شاه درویش - در سال هزار و چهل و پنج هجری لیوی سعادت  
نصاب توفیق ماب - زبدة الاثن والا قران - علی قلی بیگ - غلام  
عالی حضرت رفیع منزلت - مقرب الحضرت العلیة الخاقانیة - یوسف اقای  
خواجہ سراى دستور السلاطین قانون الاخواتین - ذریت سید المرسلین -

1. *Inscriptions of Bengal*", volume IV, published 1960. Varendra Research Museum Rajshahi p. 274.

السلطان بن السلطان و الخاقان بن الخاقان بن الخاقان لشكر كش  
ایران - مروج مذهب آئمه اثنا عشر - کلب استان خیر البشر بعد از حضرت  
پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و اله و امیر المؤمنین و امام المتقین علی بن ابی  
طالب علیه الصلوٰۃ و السلام - شاه عباس الصفوی الحسینی رحمة الله  
و لقیه نضرة و سرورا غرض نقشیست گزیمان یاد ماند - که هستی  
را نمی بینم بقای +

#### Translation

“(‘Alī Qulī Baig) has been provided with the privilege of erecting the tomb of the reputed Sayyid, received in the mercy and forgiveness (of Allāh), who approached the neighbourhood of Allāh, Shāh Darwish, in the year one thousand and forty five of Hijra, the possessor of happiness, recipient of the Divine grace, the cream of the equals and co-evals, ‘Alī Qulī Baig, the slave of his eminence and exalted dignity the favourite of his high and sublime majesty’s sovereignty, Yusuf like master of the servant, a noble example of kings and canon for emperors, a progeny of the lord of apostles, the king son of king, son of king, the emperor son of emperor, son of emperor, the commander of Iran, the propagator of the faith of the twelve Imāms (sectarian of the twelve), the (watch) dog at the threshold of the best man after His Holiness, the Prophet, the blessings of Allāh be on him and his family, the lord of the faithful and leader of the Pious, ‘Alī son of Abu Ṭālib, blessings and peace be on him, (he is) Shāh Abbas the Ṣafavī, a descendant of Husain, mercy and audience of Allāh be granted to him, with all freshness and happiness.

The purpose of this engraving is that it may perpetuate our memory, since I do not find any existence to be eternal.<sup>1</sup>

From the inscriptions, we come to know that a mausoleum was erected over the grave of “Sayyid-i-Sanad Shāh Darwish” by one ‘Alī Qulī Begh who was a servant of Shāh ‘Abbās, the ṣafawī (1587-1629 A. D.) of Irān, and who belonged to the

1. *Inscriptions of Bengal* volume IV, by Mr. Shamsuddin published in 1960 by the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi p. 274.

"*Ithna 'Ashariyah*" ( Twelve Imamites ) sect of the Shī'ahs, in the year 1045 A. H—1634 A. D. Who was this Shāh Darwīsh, who was given the credit of being a Sayyid ? Evidently he was the saint popularly known as Shāh Makhdūm.

Now, the question remains, when did Makhdūm Shāh flourish ? The date of his death, viz., "1592 A.D. at the age of 117 years", as recorded in a recent publication<sup>1</sup> is more imaginary than real. It is not based on any reliable evidence. It is, however a fact that he flourished long before 1634 A.D., when 'Alī Qulī Beygh erected a mausoleum over his grave. Evidently 'Alī Qulī Beygh was not aware of the real name of the saint.

6. Time of            Otherwise, he could put the name and not the Makhdūm Shāh epithets in his inscription. .

A traditional time of the saint can, however, be surmised and suggested. Ghulām Akbar, one of the main descendents of the 'Khādims' of Shāh Makhdūm's dargah, deposed in 1904 in the court of the District Judge, Rajshahi about the 'Tawliyat' ( trusteeship ) of the dargah property. His deposition is as follows :

"The name of Makhdūm Saheb is Hazrat Shāh Rūposh. I do not know what other name he had. . . I do not remember the date of his death. The estate does not date from before 1044 Hijri. In the papers that I have filed, it is mentioned that Shāh Rūposh was living 450 years before that time. The writing on the stone and the papers filed by me do not tally. I am the ninth generation from Shāh Nūr ( the first Mutawallī of the dargah )".<sup>2</sup>

The Mutawallī's deposition made at the court of the District Judge, Rājshāhī, in 1904, may be summed up in the following terms : The 'Waqf' property of the Makhdūm Shāh's 'dargah' was a rent-free estate granted by the Emperor Humayum (1530-1556) in 1044 A.H.=1634 A.D., and Shāh Makhdūm was alive 450 years earlier than 1044 A.H. according to the records submitted as 'Exhibits' to the Court. As we are mainly concerned

1. 'Purba Pakistaner Sufi Sadhak, 1961', Bengali Academy, Dacca.
2. Vide Index of papers of Appeal from original Decree No. 550 of 1904, at the Court of the District Judge, Rajshahi,

with ' these two aspects of the *Mutawallī*'s statement, let us examine them critically.

The first aspect of his statement is evidently incorrect. The Emperor Humayun could not grant the rent-free estate in 1044 A.H.=1634 A.D. Because, the Emperor died in 1556, i.e., long 78 years before the date (1634) of the gift. But, it may be the fact that the Estate was created in 1634 A.D. In that case it is quite likely that the Estate was created by 'Alī Qulī Beygh' the builder of the mausoleum of the '*dargāh*' in or around the year 1045 A.H.=1635 A.D.

The second aspect of the *Mutawallī*'s statement that according to the documents he submitted to the Court, *Shāh Makhdūm* was alive 450 years earlier than 1044 A.H., appears to be inaccurate though he (the *Mutawallī*) claimed the date to be documentary. Obviously the documents recorded the date, if they did it at all, on the basis of the tradition, orally handed down from generation to generation upto the time of the creation of the Estate. Therefore, this old tradition as one of the materials of early history should neither be overlooked nor be over-emphasized.

In the circumstances stated above, I am of the opinion that in the absence of any other reliable data, this date, i.e., 450 years before 1634 A.D., may provisionally be accepted as the time of advent of the saint at Rāmpur-Boāliyā, i.e., modern Rājshāhi. In that case, *Makhdūm Shāh* was alive in  $1634 - 450 = 1184$  A.D.

This date (1184 A.D.) of *Shāh Makhdūm*'s life appears to be probable even if we consider it from another point of view. The traditional account of the saint, recorded above, contains most of the characteristics of traditions, now metamorphosed into legends connected with the advent of the Darwishes of the pre-conquest of Bengal by the Muslim Turks. This is why *Makhdūm Shāh* is still considered as the "Guardian-Saint" of Rājshāhi.

## 8. HADRAT MAWLĀNĀ SHĀH DAWLAH

( alive in 1519 )

The tomb of this saint is in the village of Bāghā in the Sadar sub-division of Rājshāhi district. There is a big "waqf" estate in the village, the origin of which is as follows :

"In 925 A. H., i.e. in 1519 A.D., a devotee named Hadrat Mawlānā Shāh Dawlah came and settled in Bāghā. His tomb may be seen in a small cemetery in the mosque compound with those of five of his relatives. In 1615 A.D., his grandson Mawlānā Hadrat Shāh 'Abdul Wahhab received by a *farmān* ( letters patent ) of Mughal Emperor, a free grant of 42 villages yielding Rs. 8,000/- a year, for the support of his family".<sup>1</sup>

## 9. SHĀH 'ALĪ BAGHDĀDĪ.

( death before 1480 A.D. ).

In the village of Mīrpūr in Dacca, lies the tomb of this saint. His title indicates that he was an inhabitant of Baghdād. Nothing definite is known about the saint. According to Mr. B. C. Allen, the saint died in 1577 A. D.<sup>2</sup> But in the absence of reliable historical evidences, we are unable to accept this date as true. Adjoining to the present shrine of the saint, there is an old mosque which contains an inscription in Arabic. This inscription records that the mosque was built in the year 885 A. H. 1480 A. D. during the reign of Yūsuf Shāh (1478-1482 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> It is a well-known fact that almost all mosques adjoining to "dargāhs" in Bengal, were built after the death of the saints or during their life time. So, it can fairly be presumed that the saint Shāh Alī Baghdādī died before the year 1480 A.D.

1. Bengal District Gazetteers, Rajshahi.

2. East Bengal District Gazetteers, Dacca, 1912, p.65.

3. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Old Series., Vol. XLIV. 1875, pt. I, p. 293.



10. SHĀH LANGAR.

The tomb of this saint is in Mu'azzampur within the jurisdiction of the police station Rūpganj in Dacca. We do not know anything about this saint. The mosque adjoining to his "dargāh" was built during the reign of Shamsu-'d-Dīn Ahmad Shāh (1431-1442 A. D.).<sup>1</sup> This fact proves that the saint was either a contemporary to Shamsu-'d-Dīn Ahmad Shāh, or he died before the Sultān, but not after him.

1. East Bengal District Gazetteers, Dacca, 1912, p. 65.

## Chapter X

### HISTORY OF THE SUFIS OF BENGAL.

#### Chattala Centre

This centre comprises the districts of Chittagong, Tippera and Noakhālī. But the main centre of the darvish activities was Chittagong, "the the district of Chittagong, which is traditionally Land of Twelve called "the Land of Twelve *Awliyā*". Amongst *Awliyās*". these twelve *Awliyā*, Pīr Badr is generally regarded as the first and the greatest *Awliyā*, who brought the message of Islām to this remotest corner of Bengal. According to one version of the tradition, Pīr Badr or Badr *Awliyā*, as he is generally called, was accompanied by eleven other *Awliyā* whose tombs are now found in different parts of the district. They all are said to have stopped for rest for a few days at a place near the railway station at Kumirā, on their way to the modern town of Chittagong. This place still contains a shrine called "*Bārā Awliyār Dargah*". According to the other version, the place was as if a gateway to the entrance to the town of Chittagong in those early days ; and still it seems that it was so. Badr *Awliyā* came alone to Chittagong and stopped there. Other *Awliyā* followed suit subsequently. It is pretty certain that the town and district of Chittagong was the centre of the darvish activities in this part of Bengal. Innumerable tombs of known and unknown saints strewn all over the town itself and the district eloquently testify to this fact. From this district message of Islām was carried to the other neighbouring districts either by the saints or by their devoted followers.

However, apart from the darvishes of forgotten or half-forgotten names, the lists of "*Twelve Awliyā*", that Names of ten are generally furnished by the people of Chittagong Awliyā out of to the inquirers, differ from one another with respect to a few less known names which, so far as twelve. we think, should not be included in the list,

commonly given. Among the twelve names only the following ten are common and known to almost all the people of Chittagong district :

Names of <i>Awliya</i> as popularly known.	Location of their tombs or the names of places associated with them.
1. Sulṭān Bayizid Bisṭām' ...	On the top of a hillock in Naṣirābād, five miles North of Chittagong.
2. Shaykh Farid ...	Within Solak Bahar, now wrongly named 'Sola-Shahar', situated at the northern boundary of the Chittagong Municipality.
3. Badr Shāh, or Badr Awliya, or Pir Badr.	Bakshī Bazar in the town.
4. Katal Pir ( Pir Qattal) ...	Katalganj within the Chittagong Municipality.
5. Shāh Muḥsin Awliya ...	Baṭ-tāl within the jurisdiction of Anwara thāna.
6. Shāh Pir ...	Sātkaniya.
7. Shāh 'Umar ...	Chakariya.
8. Shāh Badl ...	Jamālpur near the railway station Dhum.
9. Shāh Chānd Awliya ...	Near the thana Patia.
10. Shāh Zayd ...	Kunderhāt ( A. B. R. ).

It is almost certain that these saints did not come to Chittagong together ; they came to the district either in groups of two to three or one by one at intervals. The Chittagonians still firmly believe that Badr Shāh, Katal Pīr and Muḥsin Awliya were the earliest of the saints who came together to Chittagong. How far the tradition is true, we do not know. But Who are the the proofs adduced in the succeeding pages, warrant earliest of us to believe that these three saints were the earliest of the saints of Chittagong and that they Awliyas ? entered Chittagong town one after another within only a short intervals if not together. Whatever might have been the facts, it is not improbable that Badr Shāh was accompanied by a number of darvishes or at least men of saintly

character, who sponsored the cause of Islām in the district and its neighbouring places.

No serious doubt should be entertained with regard to the preaching of Islām by the Arab merchants in the district of Chittagong before its conquest by the Muslims in the middle of the fourteenth century A. D. But the names of saints generally suggested by the people in connection with the preaching of Islām arouses a grave suspicion as to the authenticity of the traditional statement and the possibility of the advent of darvishes of pre-Muslim period into the district so early. As Possibility of for example, the names of Sultān Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī pre-Turki advent (d. 874 A. D.) and Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār of the darvishes (d. 1230 A. D.) may be referred to here. In into Chittagong favour of Sultān Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī's advent, the educated Muslims of the district argue that Chittagong was an early Arab settlement on the sea coast of India, and hence it is not improbable that the saint came there at such an early date as the ninth century A. D. And the case of Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār too is supported by the same argument. We do not find any reason to reconcile it with their argument. Indeed, the port of Chittagong was an early Arab settlement on the sea-coast of India; but does the antiquity of this Arab settlement go back to so early a time as the eighth and ninth centuries A. D.? The case of Chittagong was not like that of Surāt on the western sea-coast of India. The history of Chittagong is only available up to the thirteenth century A. D., and before that it is enwrapped in darkness. In such a case, it is not expedient to rely on the local tradition absolutely, unless no definite historical data is available in support of the tradition. Chittagong was first conquered by the Muslims during the reign of Fakhrū'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh (1336-1352 A.D.), the first independent Sultān of Sonārgāon. No doubt, the darvishes either preceded or followed this conquest. But the possibility of the pre-Muslim advent of the darvishes cannot be legitimately entertained by those arguments which are generally forwarded and advanced by the people of Chittagong. We should not be misunderstood here; we do not mean to say that the

possibility was nil. In the following pages we shall see that the darvish activity in Chittagong began much earlier than the Muslim conquest of the district. What we like to say is this that, the traditional names of darvishes mentioned above, were not the real names of those darvishes who came to Chittagong and began to work for Islām before the Muslim conquest.

### 1. SULTĀN BĀYIZĪD BISTĀMĪ ( d. 874 A. D. )

( *Shāh Sultān Balḡhī* ? )

The sarcophagus grave made in imitation of the original grave situated elsewhere of this saint is situated on the top of a hillock in the village of Naṣīrābād, five miles north of Chittagong town. An old mosque, still in good condition and used by the pilgrims, is at the foot of the hillock. Information about the shrine of the saint, It contains no inscription ; but seems to be erected during the beginning of the Mughal period. Close to the mosque there is an old tank, now (1930) re-excavated, which contains a good number of sea-turtles generally known as "*Māzārīs*" or the protected tortoise of the saint's grave, and a large number of "*Gajār*" fishes, called "*Gajārīs*". Many fabulous tales are current in the locality about the origin of these "*Gajārīs*" and "*Māzārīs*" and their safety from rapacious hands of the people. There is an "*Waqf Estate*" of the *dargāh*, from the income of which the expenses of the shrine are met. The management of the *dargāh* is in the hands of "The Chittagong Endowment Committee".

Everyone admits that the saint Sultān Bāyizīd Bistāmī did not die here ; yet people do not hesitate to say that he came to Naṣīrābād at a time when the place was covered with dense forest abounded with wild animals, evil spirits and genii, and that he attained the saintly perfection and enlightenment who was Sultān here after a long time, spent in ascetic practices. Bāyizīd Bistāmī The story told in connection with the abdication of Chittagong ? of his royal life and with the preference of a saintly life to the royal one, is exactly the same as narrated in connection with *Shāh Sultān Balḡhī* of Mahāsthāna in Bogra. We hear of no Muslim saint who had ever set his foot on

Indian soil before the tenth century A. D. There is no definite and convincing proof of the fact that there had been any Arab relations with Chittagong before that period. Under the circumstances, we cannot believe in the tradition of Sulṭān Bayizīd Bisṭāmī's arrival at Chittagong before the beginning of the tenth century A. D. So far as we understand, Sulṭān Bayizīd Bisṭāmī has been confounded with Shāh Sulṭān Balkhī. It is said that Shāh Sulṭān first landed on Sandvīp, an island in the Bay of Bengal near Chittagong. It is not at all improbable that he visited Naṣirābād before he had been in Sandvīp. The similarity between the Bogra and Chittagong tradition and the improbability of Sulṭān Bayizīd Bisṭāmī's arrival at Chittagong on such an early date as the ninth century A. D. lead us to identify Sulṭān Bayizīd Bisṭāmī of Chittagong with Shāh Sulṭān of Bogra.

It is necessary to mention here that, our identification of Sulṭān Bayizīd Bisṭāmī of Chittagong fame with Shāh Sulṭān of Bogra is further strengthened by a passing reference to the saint's name in one of the ballads (vide *Nurunnehār-o-Kabarēr Kathā*) of Eastern Bengal,<sup>1</sup> where the following two lines occur in connection with the saint :

“নসিরাবাদেতে মানি সাহায়ে স্বলতান।

দেশ বৈদেশ হইতে আইসে মোমিন মুসলমান ॥”

“I pay respects to Shāh Sulṭān of Naṣirābād ;

Faithful Musalmāns come from different places

(to pay respects to him)”.

Here the name of the saint is Shāh Sulṭān instead of Sulṭān Bayizīd Bisṭāmī. It fully resembles the name of the saint of Bogra.

## 2. BĀBĀ FARĪDU-'D-DIN SHAKRGANJ

( 1177-1269 A.D. )

Beside the hillock at Solak-Bahar (and not Sola-Shahar as has been recently named), situated within a mile north of Chittagong town, there is a fountain, famous for its pious association with the

1. *Purba Yanga Gitikā*, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, published by the University of Calcutta.

name of saint Shaykh Farīd. This fountain is popularly known as "Shaykh Farīd Chāḡmah" or the Fountain of Shaykh Farīd. Owing to its traditional association with Shaykh Farīd, people visit this sacred fountain to go and take its water home to serve the purpose of holy water and of medicine for various ailments. The tradition current in the locality in connection with the saint is as follows: Shaykh Farīd lost his father in his infancy and was brought up under the care of his mother who was a very pious and God-fearing lady. His mother spared no pains and endeavored to educate her son and give him a regular and perfect theological training for a long period of twelve years, on the expiry of which Farīd became a very profound scholar in different branches of learning. His learning filled him with pride. One day while Farīd was engaged in conversation with his mother, the pious lady mildly scolded her son for his pride in "Ilm-i-Zāhirī" or worldly learning, and encouraged him to acquire "Ilm-i-bāṭinī" or divine knowledge. The lady further added that unless he acquired divine knowledge, his worldly learning was in vain.

Shaykh Farīd was very much affected by the advice of his mother, and within a few days, he left home, took shelter in a forest and engaged himself in ascetic practices. After twelve years, he returned and knocked at his mother's door and asked her to receive him. He met with a cold reception from his mother who mildly scolded him and told him again that he had not attained perfection as yet. Shaykh Farīd again returned to the forest, spent twelve years in devotion and ascetic practices, came home, knocked at his mother's door and asked her to receive him. His mother again scolded him and he again went to the forest and spent twelve years more in severe ascetic practices. This time, being very much mortified, Farīd did a novel thing. He tied up his two legs with the branch of a tree, stretching towards the small valley where now lies the fountain called "Shaykh Farīd Chāḡmah". In this position he began to recite the name of God as he was determined this time either to die or to acquire that divine gnosis which his mother desired him to attain. He

was always weeping for the mercy of God, and the tears of blood that were flowing from his eyes, are said to have caused the fountain to spring up.

In this way, while Shaykh Farīd was passing his days through terrible ordeals one day a hungry crow perched on the same branch, to which his legs were tied up, and asked him for food. Farīd offered his whole body to the crow which pecked at it quickly but could not get even a small piece of flesh. The crow being thus disappointed complained to Farīd that he had deceived it by offering a block of wood instead of his body. Farīd had nothing to satisfy his guest save his two eyes which were still soft. He requested the crow not to be dissatisfied with him and invited him to eat his left eye. The crow did that and flew away. Then a second crow came and asked Farīd for food. He readily offered the right eye to it. The crow pecked it out, ate it and then flew away satisfied. In this way, when he lost his two eyes, he saw that he was seeing everything in the world. He fully understood this time that the longed for enlightenment and mental perfection had at last been attained. So he intended to visit his mother. He untied his legs and returned home. On his arrival he wondered to see that the door of his mother's house was open for him. His mother understood that her son had attained the desired perfection (*Kamaliyat*). She came out of the house and received her son with filial affection.

After this, Farīd passed a few days with his mother who again wished to see his son as an authoritative agent (*Khalīfah*) of some other famous darvishes of India. Farīd requested his mother to suggest the name of a saint, from whom he might receive the "Cloak of Vicegerence" (*Khirqah-i-Khilāfat*). She suggested the name of Bū' Alī Shāh Qalandar, whom Farīd did not deem a fit person to be his spiritual guide. So, he left Bū' Alī Qalandar, went to Quṭb-u-'d-Dīn, served him for a long time and received the "Cloak of Vicegerence" from him. On the receipt of the cloak, while he was returning to his mother, he succeeded to persuade Nizāmu-'d-Dīn, a notorious dacoit, to shun the evil ways of life, he adopted. It is said that Nizāmu-'d-Dīn afterwards became a great saint.



After this, Farīd reached home, and dedicated his life to the service of his mother and Islām.

As for the identification of Shaykh Farīd there are differences of opinion among the people of Chittagong. The tradition noted down here is taken from the version of the illiterate, who do not care for the identification of the saint. But the educated Muslims are of the opinion that this Shaykh Farīd who was this was the famous Persian Saint Farīdu-'d-Dīn 'Attār Shaykh Farīd? who died in the year 1230 A.D. Unfortunately, we are unable to share with their views, for reasons already referred to. According to the tradition, this Shaykh Farīd was the spiritual guide of Nizāmu-'d-Dīn Awliya (1236-1325 A.D.). The following two lines of Eastern Bengal Ballad (vide P. V. G. "*Nurunnehār-o-Kabarar Kathā*"), supports the tradition taken down by us

“তারপর মানি আগি ফকির সেক ফরীদ।

নেজাম ওলিয়া মানম তান সাহাবিদ।”

“Then I pay my respects to the saint Shaykh Farīd; (Besides) I pay my respects to Nizāmu-'d-Dīn Awliya who was his disciple” In the tradition, we see that Shaykh Farīd was contemporary with Bu-'Alī Qalander (d.1324 A.D), and a disciple of Qutbu-'d-Dīn. This Qutbu-'d-Dīn was none but Qutbu-'d-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (1142-1236 A.D.). Under the circumstances we do not see any reason, how Shaykh Farīd of Chittagong can be identified with Shaykh Farīdu-'d-Dīn 'Attār of Persia? This Shaykh Farīd was no doubt Bābā or Shaykh Farīdu-'d-Dīn Shakrganj who died in 1269 A.D. and was buried at Pākpatan in the Punjab. He was a disciple of Bakhtiyār Kākī and spiritual guide of Nizāmu-'d-Dīn Awliya of Delhi.

However, it seems likely that Shaykh Farīdu-'d-Dīn Shakrganj once came to Bengal. We have just now identified his connection with the fountain called “*Shaykh Farīder Chashmah*”. There are many other fountains in the town of Chittagong near by this one; but they are not associated with Shaykh Farīd in the same way. Apart from this, there is a tradition still current in some

parts of the district of Faridpur that the name of the district and town of Faridpur was given after the name of Shaykh Farid, who once visited the district and converted the people to Islām. A small tomb, which was probably made to commemorate the name and activities of the saint, is still seen in the town of Faridpur. Both Hindus and Muslims give offerings to it in fulfilment of their vows. The *Wahhābī* movement of Faridpur has now much reduced its influence on the Muslim community.

### 3. SHĀH BADRU-'D-DIN 'ALLAMAH,

(alive in 1340 A.D.)

This Guardian Saint of Chittagong district is commonly known by many names, e.g. "Badr Shāh", "Badr Pīr" "Pīr Badr" and "Badr". His full name is not known to any body.

It was probably Shāh Badru-'d-Dīn Allāmah. This name has been adopted by us from the fragmentary and the location names that have been collected from different sources. His tomb lies to the southern side of

Bakhshī Bāzār—a market situated at the middle of the town. His tomb is a place of veneration to all people—Hindus, Muslims, native Christians and Buddhists.

As this great saint of Chittagong is traditionally associated with the spread of Islām in the district, his activities deserve elaborate treatment and the current tradition and records in connection with him requires a careful study in the modern historical light. The popular version of the tradition is as follows :

It is said that some five to six hundred years ago, Badr Shāhib, being seated on a big block of stone came floating to Chittagong. At that time there was no man in the modern town of Chittagong except the "Jinns" or Fairies to whom he prayed for a very small space that might contain only a Local tradition. a "Chāfī" or earthen lamp. The place granted to him was on the summit of a hillock now situated on the north of present Qadam Mubārak Mosque at Rahmatganj. When evening fell, Badr Pīr lighted his "Chāfī"

or earthen lamp on the place given to him. It was a magic lamp which had the power to expel the Fairies. When the saint lighted it on the summit of the hillock, it threw its beams to long distances around it, and the magical power of the lamp began to spread all around compelling the "*Jinns*" to leave the lighted place. In this way, Badr Pīr freed considerable portion of the tract from the "*Jinns*." The hillock, on which Pīr Badr is said to have lighted his earthen lamp (*Chāṭī*), is now called "*Badr Pāṭī*" or the place of Badr's lamp, where up till now many local Hindus, Christians and Muslims light votive candles each evening. In this way, as the district was first lighted by the "*Chāṭī*" of Badr Shāh, and as for the first time the saint made the district a habitable place for the Muslims it is now called "*Chāṭigāon*" or "*Chāṭgāon*" after the name of the magic lamp of the saint. In course of time, Badr Shāh drove all the "*Jinns*" out of Chittagong, made it quite habitable for all, and then he repaired to the southern side of modern Bakhshī Bāzār. In this place, he made a permanent "*astānah*" or residence, and preached Islām for a long time. In aducing the proof of their statement that the district of Chittagong was formerly inhabited by "*Jinns*" people generally refer to the name of a hill called "*Parīr Pāhār*" or "*Hill of the Fairies*", on the top of which now stand the court buildings of Chittagong. They say that the hill was the residence of the "*Jinns*".

Local devotees of Pīr Badr consider him to be the Guardian Saint of the town. Throughout the whole of East Bengal boatmen invoke his spirit along with other five Pīr Badr's asso- ciation with saints on the eve of their journey by water, saying water. "*Pānch Pīr, Badr, Badr*". They believe that Badr

Pīr, a deathless spirit, presides over water of the rivers and seas and when boatmen are involved in danger and his assistance is sought for, he comes to their help, and saves them from the impending peril of shipwreck. The Bengali formulas for invoking the spirit of Pīr Badr, current among the Hindu and Muslim boatmen of Chittagong district are slightly different in wording, and hence, it is interesting to note them here. Hindu boatmen invoke Pīr Badr by the recitation of this formula :

“আমরা আছি পোলা পাইন,  
গাজি আছে নিকাবান,  
শিরে গঙ্গা দরিয়া  
পাঁচপীর বদর, বদর।”

Translation :

“We are ( his ) children,  
*Ghāzi* is watching ( over us ).

The river *Gangā* is ahead of us

(We invoke the spirit of) Five Saints and above all *Badr*”.

And the Muslim boatmen, by this :

“আমরা আছি পোলা পাইন,  
গাজি আছে নেগাবান,  
আল্লা, নবী পাঁচপীর, বদর, বদর।”

Translation :

“We are ( his ) children,  
*Ghāzi* is watching ( over us )

( We invoke the assistance of )

Allāh, His Prophet, the Five Saints and above all *Badr*”.

Let us now critically examine the tradition of *Pir Badr*. Whether the name of Chittagong was given from the “*Chāḍḍ*” of *Badr Pīr* is a doubtful question, quite unnecessary to discuss here. But the main trend of tradition leads us to hold the view that *Badr Shāh* was the first Muslim saint who propagated Islam in the district and that he wrested Chittagong from the hands of the Maghs who are described in the tradition as the “*Jinns*” or Fairies. So far as we think, “*parīr pāhār*” or the Critical examina- “Hill of the Fairies” was the seat of the Maghs tion of the tradition (Fairies) of Arakan, who brought untold miseries on the inhabitants of Chittagong and sea-coast districts of southern Bengal, not only by their piratical habit, but by many other inhuman practices such as the acts of kidnapping, incendiarism, carrying away cattle, and complete devastation of paddy fields. This is why the lawless state of a country is generally described by the Bengali phrase “*Magher Mulluk*” i.e. the country of the Maghs, where no law and order exist. The

acts of such kinds of violence committed by the Maghs, have now formed the basis of many folk and fairy tales of Chittagong. Still our children gathering around their old grandmothers in the evening hear these tales with curious interest. Heroes and heroines of these tales are men and women, who, being carried away by the Fairies to their land, were married to them and then compelled to perform all domestic duties like ordinary men. The glimpse of misty historical facts through these folk and fairy tales of Chittagong, does not carry us to the romantic region of fairy land, but reminds us of the past stories of the Magh pirates.

The earliest archaeological evidence of the administration of Chittagong by the Hindus is a copperplate discovered in Nasirābād and executed in 1243 A. D., by one of the Vaisnav Rajās, Deva by name.<sup>1</sup> Though, this copper-plate shows that during the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D., Chittagong was under the Hindu administration, yet it cannot be said with precision that inhabitants of Chittagong were safe from the rapacious hands of the Arakanese, under the Hindus. We definitely know that from the beginning of the Turkī conquest of Chittagong (first half of the fourteenth century) upto the middle of the Mughal period Chittagong was not thoroughly cleared off of the Maghs. So, we may fairly presume, that while Badr Pir came to Chittagong, the district was under the Maghs and he came in collision with them and drove them away from the town.

The name of Badr Shāh is not only traditionally associated with the first conquest of Chittagong by the Muslims, but also it is found in one of the ballads of Eastern Bengal Ballads. In this ballad the following four lines are found in connection with the saint:

“চাইর দিকে মানি আমি মন কৈলাম স্থির ।  
মাথার উপরে মানম আশী হাজার পীর ।  
আশী হাজার পীর মানম লেখ পেকার ।  
শিরের উপরে মানম চাটগাঁর বদর ।”

1. “Notes on the Chittagong Copper plate” J. A. S. B. part 1. 1874.

## References of Pir

Badr in early Bengali literature.

## Translation :

I pay respects to all of the four directions and then  
make up my mind to address the audience.

I bow before the eighty thousand Pirs, who  
are over my head.

I declare my obedience to the eighty thousand  
Pirs and faith in nine lakhs of prophets,

I obey Pir Badr of Chittagong who is over  
my head".<sup>1</sup>

In a Bengali M.S. dated Hijri 1055 = 1646 A.D., the following description of the first conquest of Chittagong by a Muslim general Kadal Khan Ghazi was recorded. The general was glad to see a saint Badr Alam in the town of Chittagong. The description runs thus :

"I repeatedly pay my honour with heart and soul to Kadal Khan Ghazi who is known to be the best man in the world. In the fight with him, innumerable enemies fell, some of them drowned in the sea and some of them took shelter in the forest

Thousands were killed by the order of one man (Kadal Khan);  
Being victorious over the enemies, he subjugated Chittagong.  
(After the defeat), the infidels assembled under a tree,  
He felled it and killed all of them.

...  
One of his companions, broke the image of Chhatresvarī;  
And converted the people of the town of Chhatigrām to  
Islam".<sup>2</sup>

1. *Bangālā Prāchin Punthir Vibran*, Abdūl Karim (B.S. 1321) pt. 1.p.157.

2. কাএ মনে প্রণাম করি বারে বার। কদলখান গাজি জানি ডুবনের সার ॥  
হার রণে পড়িল অসংখ্য রিপুগণ। উএ কেহ মজিলেক সমুদ্র গহন ॥  
এক পরে হইল সহস্র প্রাণহীন। রিপু জিনি চাটিগ্রাম কৈলা নিজাধীন ॥

... ..

বৃক্ষতলে বসিলেক কাফিরের গণ। সেই বৃক্ষ ছেদি সবে করিল নিধন ॥  
তান এক মিলে বধিলেক চাটেশ্বরী। মুসমান কৈল সব চাটিগ্রাম পুরী ॥

After the victory while Kadal Khān Ghāzi was returning to his camp (or house), he met with a number of saints among whom Hājī Khalīl and Badr Ālām were prominent. He took them with him and entertained them in his camp. This incident has thus been described in the manuscript :

“Accompanied by eleven companions, Kadal Khān Ghāzi brought the two saint friends to his house. ( Among those eleven men, Hājī Khalīl was one). While Badr Ālām saw Hājī Khalīl, he became very much glad. (Badr received Hājī Khalīl) while other received others.”<sup>1</sup>

From the above description, it will be seen that Kadal Khān Ghāzi was the first Muslim conqueror of Chittagong, and one of his friends broke the image of the Chattēswarī and converted the whole population of the town to Islām. The name of Kadal Khān Ghāzi's iconoclastic friend is not clearly mentioned in any passages. But it is not difficult to understand that this man was Badr Ālām, because it is clear from the passages quoted above that Badr Ālām was in the camp, while Kadal Khān brought with him his saint friends in his camp.

Then who is this Badr Ālām ? So far as we think this Badr Ālām was none but Badr Shāh of Chittagong who is still reputed to have converted extensively the people of the district to Islām. His full name was perhaps Badru-'d-Dīn 'Allāmah. “Allāmah” means” a very learned man” and it is generally used as the title of Muslim doctors and preachers.

The history of Chittagong is enwrapped in darkness. Otherwise, we would have been able to identify Kadal Khān Ghāzi with the first Muslim conqueror of Chittagong, whose

১।

“একাদশ মিত্রসঙ্গে,  
কদলখান গাজি রঙ্গে,  
দুই মিত্রে বাড়ী লই গেল।  
হাজি খলীলকে দেখি,  
বদর আলাম সুখী,  
অন্তে অন্তে আশ্বেসিল।।”

name is yet to be discovered. But the value of the old Bengali manuscript mentioned above cannot be ignored as historical document in the case of absence of any other more authentic historical evidences. Hence we think that Kadal Khān Ghāzī was the first Muslim conqueror of Chittagong, and Pīr Badr was one of his companions. There is still a village called Kadalpūr in the jurisdiction of the *thāna* Rāozān in Chittagong, and according to local tradition the village was named after one Kadal Khān, who was the governor of Chittagong. But, we do not know any man bearing that name, was ever a governor of the district, during Muhammadan rule. Therefore we suppose that this Kadal Khān was Kadal Khān Ghāzī, the conqueror of Chittagong.

Now, we should see, when Chittagong was first conquered by the Muslims? If we can solve this question definitely, we shall be able to know roughly the date of Pīr Badr who was with Kadal Khān during his first victory over the Hindus. The earliest archaeological remains of the Muhammadan Badr Shāh's period in Chittagong, are a magnificent mosque at association with Haṭ-hazāri, twelve miles north of Chittagong town the first conquest and a silver coin of Jalālu-'d-Dīn. The inscription of Chittagong by attached to the mosque records that it was built The Muslims, during the reign of Ruknu-'d-Din Bārbak Shāh (1459-1474)<sup>1</sup> and a coin struck in the Chittagong Mint dates 1430 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Then, shall we presume that Chittagong was not conquered by the Muslims before 1430 A.D.? If we do that we shall be totally deceived. As for the definite date of the conquest of a place, we cannot entirely rely on the archaeological evidences. Who can say, that new finds and discoveries will not bring new facts to light? From the history of Shihābu-'d-Dīn Tālīb, written in the last part of the seventeenth century, we come to know that Chittagong was first conquered in or about the year 1340 A. D., by the Muslims, during the

1. East Bengal District Gazetteers, Chittagong, 1908. pp. 22. and 185.

2. Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Vol. II, part. II, p. 163, No. 110.



reign of Fakhrū-'d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.<sup>1</sup> This fact is supported by the records of Ibn-Baṭūṭah's travel to Bengal. He visited Chittagong during the cold weather of 1346-47 A.D. and he saw the port of Chittagong was under the government of Fakhrū-'d-Dīn.<sup>2</sup>

From the above discussion, we are perhaps justified to arrive at the conclusion that in the year 1340 A. D., Chittagong was first conquered by the Muslims and the expedition Badr Shāh was led by Kadal Khān Ghāzī who was probably was alive the general of Fakhrū-'d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh. We in 1340 A.D. have seen that Pīr Badr was with him and hence he was alive in the year 1340 A. D.

That Badr Shāh was alive in the year 1340 A. D. is supported by another authentic proof and that is the discovery of an inscription preserved in the tomb of Muḥsin Awliyā. We shall elaborately discuss about this inscription later on. According to this inscription the saint Muḥsin died in 800 A. H. = 1397 A. D. We have already discussed about the tradition that Muḥsin Awliyā was one of the companions of Pīr Badr. Hence it is not at all improbable that Muḥsin Awliyā died 57 years after Badr Shāh.

From the above, it will be clearly seen that Pīr Badr was his popular name and the real name was Badru-'d-Dīn 'Allāmah. He was undoubtedly alive in the year 1340 A. D. and he was not a mythical person whom the people adore, admire and pay respect. Only on a flimsy basis of boat-men's respect and adoration for him, Mr. E. A. Gait (vide Bengal Census Report, 1901) advanced a whimsical theory that Pīr Badr is identical with Khwājah Khidr, a mythical person of the Arabs. What weight this theory carries, will now be clear to all. Dr. Wise identifies Badr Shāh of Chittagong with one Badru-'d-Dīn Badr-i 'Ālam of Bihar.<sup>3</sup> This saint of Bihar died in 1440 A. D. and is said to have lived in Chittagong for sometime.<sup>4</sup> On the authority of Dr.

1. East Bengal District Gazetteers, Chittagong, 1908, pp. 20-21.

2. *Coins and Chronology, of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal.*—N.K. Bhattachali (W. Heffer & Sons, England), 1922, pp. 143-149.

3. East Bengal District Gazetteers, Chittagong. 1908, p. 56.

4. Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal—Blochmann, p. 94.

Wise and Blochmann, *Shamsu'l-'Ulamā* Hidāyit Husayn too identifies Pīr Badr with the saint of Bihar.<sup>1</sup> But we do not see any reason to agree with them on this point. The evidences, we have produced, provide us with sufficient grounds to reject their suppositions. It is not all improbable that the saint of Bihar visited Chittagong at a date much later than Pīr Badr. Only on the similarity of names, we cannot identify two men of different ages to be one.

However, we do not know about the exact date of Pīr Badr's death. Every year, on the 29th of *Ramḍān*, the 'Urs or death-anniversary of the saint is still held at his tomb in Chittagong. In this ceremony generally "*Shīrnī*" ( porridge of rice and sugar ) is prepared in honour of the dead saint and distributed among those present. That this ceremony was once performed with great eclat and in a big scale is clearly indicated by the following popular proverb of the Chittagong district :

“বিলর গরু বদরর, ছিন্নি ( সিন্নি ),  
কেঅয় পাইল, ঘরা ঘরা কেঅয় পাইল ইক্কিনি ।”

“*Shīrnī*” of Pīr Badr. “Bilar garu, Badarar chinni ( sinni ) -  
Keay pāil gharā gharā, keay pāil ikkini”.

This proverb is explained in two ways :

- (a) “The “*shīrnī*” offering to Badr is (plentiful in quantity ) like cattle in the field,—but some get jarfuls of it while others get only a tiny bit”.

or

- (b) It may mean this :—“The cows belong to the fields ; the offering is to the saint Badr : people get as much as they can,—some jarfuls, others a tiny bit. (This simply means that even the cattle grazing in the field may be sacrificed in the name of Pīr Badr ; yet there will be a scramble for this meat offering).

The tomb of Pīr Badr was all along an object of veneration to all classes of people. We have already said about

1. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Vol. I., First Ed. p. 559.

the respect, the saint still commands from the local Muslims, Christians and Hindus. In early times, the saint was venerated by the Maghs even. *Shihābu'-Dīn* Tālish, the Persian historian of Chittagong writes,—

“On a height within the fort (this fort is now not in existence, but the place where it was situated is now called “*Āndarkillā*” or Inner Fort) is a tomb, known as the ‘*Astānah*’ of Pīr Badr; the attendants of the shrine perform prayer and fast. The Magh infidels have settled some villages in ‘*wagf*’ on this tomb; they make pilgrimages to the holy dead and offer presents.<sup>1</sup> Still the Hindu merchants of Chittagong town never open a new account of their shops on Bengali new-year’s day, without the name of Pīr Badr written down on the top of the first page of their account-book. They write “*Pīr Badr Bharasā*”—a Bengali phrase that simply means “Pīr Badr is our only hope”.

#### 4. QATTĀL PĪR.

(Contemporary with Badr).

This saint is known as Kātāl Pīr, after whom the name of the place, where he was interred, is known as Kattalganj > Kātālganj. It is situated on the northern boundary of the Chittagong municipality. No body knows the real name of this saint. They say, he came riding on a *Kātāl* or *Katla* fish with Badr Shāh, and hence he was called Kātāl Pīr. As all the people are of unanimous opinion that the saint was contemporary with Badr Shāh, we can not reject it, unless other historical evidences go against it. But we cannot believe in the story that he came riding on a *Katla* i.e., a fish belonging to the Carp Class and that is why he is called Kātāl Pīr. We presume he was one of the companions of Badr Shāh who fought with the Maghs. Perhaps he was a great fighter and hence was called “*Qattāl*”, in the deviated form “*Kātāl*”, to mean “a brave warrior”, in Arabic.

The possibility of Kātāl Pīr being an Islāmised version on

1. East Bengal District Gazetteers—Chittagong, 1908 p. 176.

a local godling or even a Buddhist saint, associated with the Kātāl fish, is also to be remembered in this connection. In many parts of Bengal, local godlings He may be an Islamised version of a local godling. were Islamised; and legends connected with many fabulous saints of Bengal warrant us to hold this opinion. In the case of Kātāl Pīr, some such thing is not at all improbable to happen. ( Cf. Luyipā, who was fond of fish entrails and had the sobriquet *Matsyāntrāda* > *Machhandali* Pīr )

##### 5. SHĀH MUḤSIN AWLYĀ ( d. 1397 A. D. ).

Formerly the tomb of this saint was in the village of Jhiyārī in the jurisdiction of the *thānā* Anwārā. Afterwards, it had been removed to a neighbouring village called Baṭ-tālī, where it is still found.

The story current in the locality and narrated by the descendants of the saint, is mainly this :

Pīr Badr, Qattāl Pīr and Shāh Muḥsin Awliyā first came to Gaur from Pānīpat. They did not like to live there and hence left the place for Dacca, where they stayed for a considerable period of time. From Dacca they started for Chittagong by water. They used three floating instruments viz., a plank of wood, a Kātāl fish, and a big block of stone. Muḥsin Awliyā used the last means of water transport. In course of due time, he reached the village of Jhiyārī, settled there, and began to preach Islām among the Hindus.

The saint had no son, but a daughter called Nirmal Bibī or Narmī Bibī and a nephew ( brother's son ) named Shāh Sikandar. He gave his daughter in marriage with his nephew before he left home for Bengal. But as he was not returning home for a long time, his daughter and son-in-law came to Bengal in search of him and if possible to take him back to his native land Pānīpat. But, they could not persuade him to return to his mother land and hence, they too made up their mind to live with the saint at Jhiyārī. Only after a few

days of their arrival at Jhiyārī, Shāh Muḥsin died and was buried in the "Khānaqāh". Narmī Bībī and Sikandar never returned to their native land and they had a son called Shāh Quṭbu'-d-Dīn, whose descendants are still living in Jhiyārī.

The former tomb of Shāh Muḥsin Awliyā at Jhiyārī was on the bank of the river Śankha, which still changes its course annually. Once the river changed its course so dangerously that the grave of the saint was about to be washed away. Removal of the Zabardast Khān, a local "Zamindar", was at that saint's tomb. time a very wealthy and influential man in the locality. The saint thrice ordered him in a dream to remove his grave to some other safer place. But, Zabardast Khān did not pay any heed to it. The people of the locality came to know of this and removed the grave according to the wishes of the saint to the neighbouring village Baṭ-talī. It is said that still the descendants of Zabardast Khān cannot burn a votive lamp within the compound of the saint's grave. People say that they have witnessed several times the descendants of Zabardast Khān trying to burn a votive lamp beside and in the compound of the saint's grave and every time failing to burn it.

A curious custom is still followed in the shrine of the saint at Baṭ-talī. The shrine has walls of burnt bricks, but the roof is of straw-thatch ; it is never made of masonry. There are two local Hindu families of house-builders (*gharāmī* ; A peculiar custom- *Kārigar* ) whose time-honoured traditional duty is to thatch the roof once every year, at the end of *Phālgun*, or beginning of *Chaitra*. This must be done within this period and done by men of those two Hindu families only ; otherwise rains would, as it is firmly and widely believed by both Hindus and Muslims, be withheld from the locality.

The block of stone by which Muḥsin Awliyā is said to have come to Jhiyārī floating, is now beside the saint's tomb at Baṭ-talī. It is now much venerated by the illiterate Hindus and Muslims. Votive candles are generally burnt on this. When

I first heard about this stone, it at once occurred to me that the stone might have been an inscription. But no body assured me about its being an inscription except that old and venerable literateur Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-dargah. Karīm Sahityavisārad of Chittagong with whom

I went to examine the stone last year (1931). After a good deal of difficulty, we succeeded to discover that it is a Persian inscription in Tughra character.\* It is now not in a good condition. Half of the writings has been rubbed out. We took three impressions of the inscription, tried to read it but could not. Now with the help of Mr. Shamsu'd-Din, an expert of the Indian Museum, we deciphered the following text of this inscription :

1st line = \* \* \* بتاريخ بستم ماه شوال عابد مجزوب

2nd line - unreadable.

3rd line - X X X ^ . . X X X

Translation :- On the twentieth *Shawāl* 'Abid and *Majdhūb* X X X  
800 A.H.=1397 A.D.

From this fragmentary inscription, it can be safely concluded that the saint Muḥsin Awliyā died in 800 A. H. =1397 A. D.

#### 6. SHĀH PIR

(d. 1632 A.D. ).

The shrine of this darwish is a famous place of pilgrimage to the people of the *thānā* Sātkāniā. Within a distance of two or three miles from the shrine of the saint, there is a great market called "*Darbeshher Hāt*", said to have been founded by the saint. People say, his real name was Muḥam -  
Shah Pir mad Yūsuf and he was a prince of Delhi. After he passed his youth, he became indifferent to the world and renounced it, In course of time, he became a great

\* It is interesting to note here, that the inscription was written in Persian language. We have not yet come across with any Persian inscription of so early a date as 800 A. H. From this point of view, the inscription is a very interesting and important one.

darwish, and came to Sātkāniā some three or four hundred years ago. He settled at the place, where his tomb lies now, and preached Islām for a long time.

We know of a great Indian saint named Shāh Pīr, whose shrine is in Meerut in the United Provinces. His magnificent shrine was built by Nūr Jahān, the beloved wife of the Emperor Jahāngīr. He died in the year in 1632 A.D. and belonged to the Shāṭṭārī order of Indian darwishes.

Does this Shāh Pīr of Chittagong possess any connection with Shāh Pīr of Meerut? I believe he does. That he was a Northern Indian saint, is clear from the tradition that he was a prince of Delhi. It is quite probable that he visited Sātkāniā once in his life time. If it be so, Shāh Pīr of Chittagong died in 1632 A. D. in Meerut and not in Chittagong, which contains his memorial tomb.

#### 7. SHĀH 'UMAR,

The shrine of this famous saint of Chittagong is in a small valley lying on the east of *thānā* Chakariyā. Though, the fame of this saint is very great and he is reckoned amongst the twelve *Awliyā*, of Chittagong, yet nothing definite Shāh 'Umar of is known about him except that he was a great Chittagong. missionary who preached Islām in the southern part of the district.

In the paraganah 'Umarābād of Noākhālī district there is the tomb of a great Muslim saint called Shāh 'Umar. He is credited even by Hindu historians with an 'immense number of conversion'. According to local tradition, 'a Persian Pīr by name 'Umar Shāh came to the district (Noākhālī) and lived there in his boat working miracles and making multitudes of converts ... It was at his instance that the Emperor Muhammad Shāh (1719-1748) settled it (i.e. Parganah 'Umarābād) with two brothers of Delhi Amānullāh Khān and Sanāullāh Khān at the very low revenue of Rs. 289'.<sup>1</sup>

1. East Bengal District Gazetteers- Noakhali, 1911. p. 101.

We suppose, this 'Umar Shāh of Noākhālī and Shāh 'Umar of Chittagong were the same and one person. If our supposition be true, then Shāh 'Umar of Chittagong was alive during the first half of the eighteenth century. But, the people of Chittagong say that Shāh 'Umar was of much earlier date; he came to Chittagong some three to four hundred years ago.

#### 8. SHĀH BADL.

The tomb of this saint lies near the Assam Bengal Railway station at Dhūm. Nothing definite is known about Shāh Badl this saint. They say, he belongs to the group of twelve Awliyās of Chittagong. According to local tradition, he came to Chittagong about four hundred years ago. His tomb is a favourite resort to those who are involved in legal suits in particular and other mundane difficulties in general.

#### 9. SHĀH MULLĀ MISKIN.

The old shrine of this saint called "Mullā Shāh Takiyah" is on the top of a hillock at Chandanpurā within the Chittagong Municipal area. It is said that he came to Chittagong a few years after Badr Shāh with a number of darwishes known as Shāh Nūr, Shāh Ashrāf, Kābulī Shāh, Shāh Mullā known as Shāh Nūr, Shāh Ashrāf, Kābulī Shāh, Miskin. Bandah Rizā Shāh, and Shāh Mubārak 'Alī. The tombs of these saints are beside the tomb of Mullā Miskin Shāh.

Near the tomb of this saint, there is an old mosque which looks like having been built during the pre-Mughal period from the architectural and structural point of view. Mullā Shāh Miskin, as the saint is generally called, might have belonged to the pre-Mughal period like the mosque itself.

#### 10 SHĀH ZAYD

On the north west side of Bangladesh. Railway station Kunderhāt, two miles south of thānā Mirsarāī ( known as Miregarī ), the tomb of Shāh Zayd lies. His shrine is locally Shāh Zayd. known as "*Baratakā*", which is universally venerated by the Hindus and Musalmans of the tract lying to the west of Sitakunda Mountain Range.



Nothing definite is known about this great saint of Chittagong. There was a big estate settled on his shrine during the rule of the Nawwābs of Bengal. Still a small portion of this state is left free of rent to the guardians of the shrine.

Shāh Zayd is one of the earliest saints of Chittagong, and he is generally reckoned amongst the "Twelve *Awliyā*" of the district. The general impression of the guardians of his shrine is this that he was alive some four to five hundred years ago.

#### 11. SHĀH CHĀND AWLIYĀ

The grave of this saint is within a small old sepulchre, situated on the bank of the river Śrīmatī within one and half a mile distance from the *thānā* Patīā. This saint is Shāh Chānd also reckoned amongst the "Twelve *Awliā*" of Chittagong. He still commands respects of all classes of Hindus and Muslims living within the jurisdiction of *thānā* Patīā.

It is said that Shāh Chānd Awliyā was a confirmed bachelor and he was leading a saintly life in disguise at a certain place in Delhi. At that time, a lady of the royal family was very anxious to get a husband after her liking. Traditional account of the saint. She waited long but none was available as she wanted. On this, she became very much mortified and disgusted with her life. One day, she visited the saint to know of her fate and she was utterly disappointed when the saint told her that it was not her fate to be a wife. On this, the princess began to press the saint to marry her. The saint tried to avoid her cleverly. In spite of this, when pressure was repeatedly put on him, he ran away from Delhi to Bengal.

The first place where he stopped for some time in Bengal was Chāndpūr, situated on the bank of the river Meghnā. Then he successively visited Chāndpūr in Sitakunda, Chāndgāon near Chittagong town, Chāndpūr on the bank of Śānkha and the places lying on both sides of the streamlet Chāndkhālī in Patīā. As all these places are associated with this great saint, they are called after the name of the saint. When he settled permanently in Patīā, the importunate lady followed him there.

Shortly after her arrival at Patiā, the saint died, and the lady, with her retinue whom she took to serve her on her way to Bengal, determined to live there as the "Khādimah" or a female attendant of the saint's tomb.

There is an ancient family in Patiā, called the family of "Chikan Qāḍī". The members of this family claim their descent from one of those earliest Khādims of the saint's Approximate dargah, who came to Patiā as the relative of the time of his arrival - princess. The genealogical table that is orally furnished at Chittagong, by the members of this family shows that the present generation stands on the 18th line. If this genealogy, be true, Shāh Chānd Awliyā must have come to Chittagong, some five hundred years ago, i.e. in the 15th century A.D.

#### 12 QĀḌĪ MUWAKKIL ( Contemporary with Aurangzib ).

The grave of this saint is on the northern bank of an old tank called "Gobaliādighi", situated to the east of ḡhānā Mirsarāī. The following story is widely current in the locality about his renunciation of the world :

Muwakkil was the "Qāḍīu-l-Qudāt" or the "Chief Justice" of Delhi, in the reign of Aurangzīb ( 1659-1707 A.D.). During the tenure of his service, a brother-in-law ( wife's younger brother ) of the Emperor committed some offence, Qāḍī  
Muwakkil. for which he was sent to Qāḍī Muwakkil for trial.

The Empress came to know of the sad plight of her brother and in order to save him from the impending conviction, she sent a secret message to the Qāḍī to treat the case of her brother leniently. The Qāḍī being a just and honest man, did not care for the message of the Empress, and passed a sentence, commensurate with the gravity of offence, committed by the accused. The Empress became very much enraged and gave a secret threatening to the Qāḍī. On this, the Qāḍī resigned the post, made up his mind to renounce the world and left Delhi for the attainment of spiritual perfection (Kamāliyat). In course of his wandering he reached Chittagong, settled permanently in Mirsarāī and passed the rest of his life in religious devotion and act of preaching Islām among the people.

## Chapter XI

### THE SŪFĪ INFLUENCE ON BENGAL

It is generally said that establishment of Muslim rule was instrumental to bring the faith of Islām and its civilisation in this country. This statement is only partially true. Magnitude of the No doubt, consolidation of the Muslim power in the Sūfī influence country greatly enhanced diffusion of Islāmic faith on Bengal and culture. But, it was the Sūfīs who were the real torch-bearers of Islāmic faith and Saracenic (— a term often used loosely to indicate the culture of Arabian, Persian, Bukhārīan, and Samarqandian Muslim) culture in Bengal. Their real influence on Bengal began to be continuously felt from the very inception of the thirteenth century A.D., gradually engulfing the whole province and beyond. It is still active in the minds of the people of Bengal. Hence it is not at all surprising to see that such a long but continued influence will produce a far-reaching and varied result in many spheres of the life of the Bengali Muslims in particular and all other inhabitants of Bengal in general. The lives of the prominent Sūfīs of Bengal dealt with in the previous four Chapters, will give only a rough idea of the number and activities of the Bengali Sūfīs to those who have the experience of travelling far and wide in Bengal. They will surely testify to the fact that hardly there is a Muslim village, or hamlet in the country, which does not contain a tomb of a known or unknown saint, Pīr, or preacher. In fact, by the continued activities of the Sūfīs or men imbued with the Sūfīstic ideas, Bengal was once so overflowed that the visible effect of that influence can still be marked in many beliefs, practices, songs and outpourings of the Bengali hearts like the silt deposited on a paddyfield after a flood. The glaze that is still radiated from the culture of Bengal, often betrays the influence of the Sūfīs in a manner requiring scholarly scrutiny. From these

things, we can now only imagine, how vast and deep was the magnitude of the influence of the Šufis on Bengal.

Impelled by what motives, the Šufis of Northern India and other foreign countries first turned their attention to Bengal, we do not exactly know. It is not at all improbable that they had more than one motive in their minds. The principal aim of the Šufi But, it can be precisely said that intention of preaching preaching their faith among the unbelievers was the main aim which impelled them to leave their hearth and home for Bengal. With this aim in view, they came to our country often quite alone and preached Islām throughout their lives under circumstances not always congenial to them. The earliest Šufi (say, the twelfth century) attempts of proselytism began under very unfavourable circumstances: the country was under the rule of Hindu potentates who were, with one or two honourable exceptions, generally very conservative, orthodox and above all antagonistic to the faith of Islām. Hence thier early attempts were bound to fail; but their subsequent attempts were quite successful; because the activities of the Šufis had been working under a favourable circumstance. It is, therefore, interesting to note here a success of the Šufi mission. few causes that contributed to the success of the proselytising mission of the Šufis.

- (a) Indomitable zeal, uncommon piety and widely belived miracles possessed by the Šufis of the thirteenth up to the sixteenth century A. D., were the first group of causes of the success of Šufi mission in Bengal. Their zeal was so great that it was not curbed or checked by personal losses, regal themselves and tyranny and even assassination. They all led a very reputation for simple and pious life. Comfort and pleasures of miracle-working life they shunned and all kinds of worldly bonds power and they cut off. In this way, they dedicated their lives -sanctity for the cause of Islām and for the service of humanity.

The religion they preached was not the religion of the orthodox Muslims, which is generally narrow in its outlook, sectarian in its application and exclusive in its conception. Essence and spirit of Islām they had enough of. But, the catholic and liberal aspect of Islām which is almost outside the scope and range of the orthodox conception of Islām, passionately appealed to the emotional hearts of the Indian as well as of the foreign Sūfis flourished under Indian influence. Hence we see that the Sūfis of Bengal, who directly came from Northern India or were taught in the schools of Northern Indian Sūfi thought, preached a liberal and catholic form of Islām in Bengal. Unlike the professional missionaries (I mean orthodox preachers (*‘Ulamā*) of Islam) of their own faith, they neither vilified the ancient religions of this country, nor unusually glorified their own. They only represented to the public the most liberal and universal aspects of Islām, which did not fail to produce the desired result of attracting a large number of the masses to Islām, already groaning under various social and religious disabilities.

When the Sūfis came to Bengal, time was in their favour. A sympathetic attitude to the weakness and superstitions of man, groping in the dark for the light of truth, made the Sūfi preachers good at their calling. Besides, they frequently had a reputation of being miracle workers. People of ancient Bengal were thoroughly steeped in superstitions and they looked at the Sūfis with an eye of super-human reverence. Consequently they were attracted to them in large numbers with the result that they had ultimately to change their old faith to the new one of the Sūfis.

(b) Permanent establishment of Muslim rule in Bengal, and the liberal and munificent patronage extended to the darwishes by the Sultāns, their grandees, nobles and officers, were the other causes that contributed to the success of the Sūfi proselytising propaganda in Bengal. With the conquest of the Turks under their able general Bakh̄tiyār Khiljī, the country came under the Muslims and remained under their sway continuously for nearly six centuries, and within this long time, nowhere in

Bengal, the Śufī preachers were either persecuted or assassinated by any native potentates. Under the ruling influence of the Muslims, they were quite free and safe to preach Liberal patron- and propagate their faith among the people of age of the Mus- this country. Wherever they met any slight or serious lim Kings and opposition, they at once sought the help of either the their nobles to Sulṭāns or their grandees, who lent active sympathy to the darwishes. thy to the saints and took a drastic and immediate step against any sort of ill-treatment and persecution perpetrated on the darwishes. This sympathy of the Sulṭāns and their nobles was more prompted by personal causes than by those actuated by the feeling for their co-religionists. Almost all of the Sulṭāns of Bengal and their nobles and soldiers were devoted to one or other of the darwishes of their time and they thought it to be their proud privilege to become their disciples. The darwishes, therefore, exercised a tremendous influence over them through their pontifical power and due to this influence, they could easily get all possible help from their royal followers.

Firm devotion shown and liberal patronage extended to Darwishes by the Muslim Kings and their nobles were patent facts in the history of the Muslims of Bengal. This patronage consisted in the foundation of monasteries (*Khanaqāhs*) for the teachers, erection of tombs over thier graves, dedication of Testimonies of properties by way of "*waqf*" for the proper and perphistory as to the etual management of either monasteries or tombs of royal patronage the darwishes and the grant of life-pensions and occa- to the Muslim sional pecuniary help for the "*Pīrs*" and saintly Saints. preachers. Thus, we meet with such facts in the Muslim history of Bengal, as the foundation of monasteries in Nadiyā by Bakhtiyār Khiljī and his nobles, immediately after its conquest.<sup>1</sup> Among the successors of Bakhtiyār, many were devoted to saints and were active patrons of them. While Ḥusāmu-'d-Dīn 'Iwwaḍ (1211-1226 A.D.) a poor

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*,—Tr. Raverty, p. 560.

man of Walīghān in Ghor, was one day leading a beast of burden, he met by chance with two unknown *Faqīrs* who being satisfied with the entertainment of Husām ordered him to go to Bengal for the attainment of royal honour and distinction.<sup>1</sup> Inspired by the prophesy of the saints he came to Bengal, admitted himself to the rank of an ordinary soldier under Bakhtiyār, and ultimately succeeded his master to the throne of Bengal. He granted munificently pensions to Sayyads, savants and darwishes.<sup>2</sup> Mughīthū-d-Dīn, Tughral (1278-1282 A. D.), the first rebellious governor of Bengal had a "*Pīr*" or "*Murshid*" who had a large followers ready to sacrifice their lives for their spiritual leader. This man was so powerful that even the Emperor of Delhi had sufficient causes to dread him. This is why Ghayāthū-d-Dīn Balban killed this man along with Tughral and many of his prominent followers.<sup>3</sup> Sulṭān Ilyās Shāh (1339-1358 A. D.) readily took the risk of sacrificing his life for the burial of a saint called Riḍā Biyābānī who was most probably his spiritual guide.<sup>4</sup> Jalālū-d-Dīn (1414-1431), Rukū-d-Dīn Bārbak Shāh (1459-1478), Alā'ū-d-Dīn Husayn Shāh (1493-1519), Nuṣrat Shāh (1519-1532) and Sher Shāh were all devoted to one or other of the darwishes of their time. During the Mughal period grants of land by way of "*waqf*" for the upkeep of "*dargāhs*" all over Bengal, became very common, and still the descendants of "*Mutawallīs*" (those who take care of "*dargāhs*") of those "*dargāhs*" are enjoying rent-free (*lakḥīrāj*) lands on the strength of old documents of this period. In this way, the "*Khānaqāhs*" were kept alive by the Muslim Kings and Emperors and their nobles. Each of these "*Khānaqāhs*" excellently served the purpose of a preaching centre for generations together, and from these *Khānaqāhs* Islām gradually spread on the neighbouring places.

(c) Existing religious and social condition of the country was an excellent helping factor to the Ṣūfī propaganda in Bengal.

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsrī*,—pp. 580-581.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 583

3. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*,—Elliot & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 1119.

4. *History of Bengal*—Charles Stewart (1847), p. 34.

At the time when the Śūfis came over to this country, Buddhism and Hinduism were the two prominent religions of Bengal. But the moral and ethical degradation of Buddhism was at this time at its zenith. During the time of the Pālas, it was social and the state religion of Bengal. Under the sunshine religious condition of royal patronage, it luxuriantly flourished of Bengal helped every where. But with the fall of the Pālas Śūfis in their and the rise of the Senas, Buddhism was fast propaganda, waning, so much so that it had to take shelter in the border countries of Bengal. During these days of Buddhistic decline, their religion not only lost hold over its followers, but also underwent a serious type of moral and ethical degeneration. On its ruins there gradually sprang up many sects and sub-sects such as Nātha, Sahajiyā, Tāntrika and others, which practically followed no strict code of any religion or morality. Again, many people who were following Buddhism, nominally changed their faith to Hinduism in order to escape continued persecution of the Hindu revivalists under the Brahminical Senas. In course of time these nominal Hindus either lost their faith from both Hinduism and Buddhism or tried to amalgamate the two into a curious amulgam which the traditions of the two faiths got hopelessly muddled.

With regard to Hinduism, it too was not in its pristine glory. Of course, the Senas tried to revive it. But they miserably failed, as it was thoroughly steeped in superstitious beliefs and practices. Astrology of absurd nature occupied the place of true religion and a powerful influence of the *Tantras* and many other indigenous cults and creeds sapped the pristine strength of Hindu religion. Degenerating influence of the age was felt on every sphere of Hinduism. Taste of people for religion degenerated into depravity to an extent hitherto unknown and principles inculcated by the ancient Rishis had to give way to the new ones which were, in many cases, not in line with pristine Hinduism. Śāstras began to be created by the Brahmins whose orthodox, narrow, and conservative views hampered the progress of the whole society at every step making it hopelessly stagnant.



This state of affairs in the Hindu society contributed much to the caste hatred and racial tyranny of the Hindus.

While the religious and social conditions of the people of this country was such, the Ṣufīs came here carrying the message of Islām with them. Islām is ever famous for its strong monotheistic belief in God, and for its theoretical and practical teachings of universal brotherhood. A simple faith in One God, the Loving and Merciful, combined with only a few easy practices and moral principles is another marked feature of Islām, which requires no mortification of flesh and intricate philosophy. Islām sufficiently possesses those qualities which can easily satisfy spiritual cravings of the masses. When by the continuous activities of the Ṣufīs, these inherent qualities of Islām were once made familiar with the masses, who were already groaning under social tyranny and suffering from the agony of spiritual yearnings of soul, they gathered round the saintly preachers known as the Ṣufīs and readily changed their old faith to the new one. The Muslims hardly made any distinction between a convert and a born Muslim. Only the change of faith at once offered the masses a golden opportunity to raise their social status to the status of their rulers the Muslims and to satisfy their hearts by the adoption of a simple and easily understandable creed like Islām.

In this way, the ṣufīs succeeded in achieving a grand success. We shall hereafter try to show, how they succeeded in their mystic mission. Once being established themselves, they made to feel their activities in different spheres of people's life. But, the greatest and most wonderful influence, they exercised over the Bengali life, was felt on the existing society and religion of Bengal. As soon as they permanently established themselves in the country, they began to exercise a tremendous influence over the Hindu society and religion by their untiring proselytising zeal and continued services to the neglected humanity and they achieved unexpected success in their mission. Beginning from the thirteenth to the close of the first

A reactionary movement was started from Nadiya against the aggression of Islām,

half of the fifteenth centuries—for these two hundred and fifty years, such state of affairs was going on with full force in the social and religious life of Bengal. Within the long span of this time, influence of the Ṣūfīs (in other words, influence of Islām) gradually extended its *limit* far beyond the society and religion; and beliefs, customs, practices and culture were slowly affected. During the last half of the fifteenth century, a general awakening or consciousness dawned on the minds of the Hindus, thus enabling them to realise fully their own position before the steady progress of the influence of Islām. Soon, the Hindus of Bengal bestired themselves to save their own society, religion and culture; and consequently a Reactionary Movement had to be launched to stand against it. Nadiyā the ancient centre of Hindu learning and culture, was the home of this Reactionary Movement.

The two chief characteristics of this movement were visible in its Regressive and Progressive Tendencies. As a result the movement was divided into two camps followed and advocated by two schools of thinkers. Those who belonged to the Regressive School, were orthodox and scriptural, and tried to create a strong bulwark against the aggression of Islām by adopting a method of going back to the original state of Hinduism. Revival of the ancient

The two chief characteristics of the reactionary movement—its progressive and regressive tendencies.

Brahmanic culture and imposition of the strict Śāstric injunctions on the masses were the main aims of these people, and they were afraid of innovations so much so that they always preferred a complete seclusion to an honourable intercourse with the foreigners (*yavanas*). Consequently they became narrow in their outlook and conservative in their views. But those, who belonged to the

Progressive School of thought, were assimilative in nature and liberal in views. The policy of seclusion, which the other school adopted, did not appear to have at all favoured by this school of thought. They perhaps realised that the policy of seclusion was suicidal and that if the Hindus could not keep pace with the march of time and if they fail to go hand in hand with the powerful and growing Muslim community, they would not be able to resist the aggression of Islām. New thoughts

and ideas as well as new culture and civilisation brought by the Muslims along with their advent into this country, should be received, though cautiously, by the Hindu community, if it desired to exist as a living organism.

The Regressive School of thought was headed by the famous Smārtha-scholar (a scholar, who is well-versed in the lore of *Smṛiti*) Raghunandan Bhaṭṭāchārya who flourished in Navadvīpa or Nadiyā during the reign of 'Alāu-Bhaṭṭāchāryya, 'd-Dīn Husayn Shāh (1493-1519 A.D.). He compiled the leader of the a book on *Smṛiti* with the help of ancient authoritative Sāstric works that had been extant during his of thought. time. The Smṛiti School built up by him is known as the *Navya Smṛiti*. Novelties in the interpretation of Sāstric injunctions were responsible for the fact that his famous work was not at first welcomed by all, but in the long run, it succeeded in winning popularity even among its opponents.<sup>1</sup>

The first and the greatest exponent of the Progressive School of thought was Chaitanya Deva (1484-1533 A.D.), the great religious and mystic leader of Bengal in the sixteenth century A.D. In him, many elements of Islām and Chaitanya Deva, Hinduism found a common platform to meet and the mouthpiece mix with one another. In the absence of other of progressive man to compare, he may be called the Kabīr of school of Bengal (1398-1448).<sup>2</sup> It is a significant fact that thought he neither opposed Islām nor hailed it. He calmly and cautiously received the new light brought to Bengal by Islām and assimilated it to give a new form. Out of this assimilation, Gaudian form of Vaisnavism, the mystic religious movement which he started, came out, and this new type

1. *Bengall Dictionary*—Subal Chandra Mitra 6th edi, pp. 1059-1060.

2. As regards the date of Kabīr, there are differences of opinion among the scholars. The date, we note down here (i.e., 1398-1448 A.D.) is given by the veteran scholar Kṣiti Mohan Sen (vide *Bhāratīya Madhya yuge Sādhanaṁ Dhārā*, Calcutta University, p. 63). This is the earliest possible date that we know of. The latest date about his life is 1440-1518 A.D. (vide *Indian Islam*, M.T. Titus p. 173).

of Vaisnabism differ in many respects from either the old form of Vaisnabism or of existent Hinduism. We shall later on try to trace the influence of Islām on this Gaudian form of Vaisnabism. What we like to note now is that Chaitanya Deva's wonderful assimilation of Islāmic thoughts gave his movement a perfect progressive and conciliatory character which may equally be attributed to the result of a fusion of Islām and Hinduism as they were then in vogue in Bengal. On account of this progressive and conciliatory character, his movement found a ready and liberal support of his countrymen, both Hindu and Muslim, who were already not in perfect accord with their religion and society ; and its popularity soon transcended the boundaries of Bengal.

The movement which Chaitanya Deva started in Bengal was not a pure religious movement. It was a mystic movement somewhat similar to other movements started by the religious mystics of Northern India in the fifteenth century A.D. "Chaitanya was neither an organiser nor a writer. He left the organisation of the sect to Nityānanda, while Rupa and Sanātana (and let us add Kṛṣṇādas Kabīrāj) took up the task of expressing the theology. Nor can we be sure that he had a settled system in his mind ; though it was probably he who decided that the philosophic position of the sect should be the *Bhedābheda* of Nimbārka rather than the *Dvaita* of Mādvā".<sup>1</sup>

While the position of Chaitanya Deva was like this, we cannot give him the credit of a prophet or a pure religious reformer. There is little doubt as to his being a mystic. From the accounts of his life that have come down to our hands, we wonder to see a striking similarity existing between the life of Chaitanya Deva and other mystics of the world. Though it is not safe to make a definite statement with regard to the extent of contribution of the Muslim mystics (*i.e.* *Ṣūfīs*) to the growth of mysticism in Chaitanya Deva, yet without fear of being seriously contra-

1. *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*.—Farquhar, p. 308.

dicted, we can say that the Muslim mystics had no mean share in the development of Chaitanya's mysticism. That Life of Chaitanya Deva encountered Muslim mystics is a Chaitanya Deva fact which we come to know from the biographical literature ( *Chaitanya Chariāmrita* by Kṛṣṇadās resembles the life of a Ṣūfī Kavirāj records such an account ) of the Vaisnabs.

Besides, among the followers of Chaitanya, there were Muslims amongst whom *Yavana* Haridās was one. In the mind of an impartial judge, these along with other possible facts such as the incessant Ṣūfī activities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, arouse a very strong suspicion regarding the influence of the Muslim mystics on Chaitanya Deva. This influence may either be of direct or indirect nature.

Whatever may be the case, the influence of the Muslim mystics on Chaitanya Deva is clearly traceable. Beginning from the drastic change of his life after his return from Gayā upto the time of his death ( *tirodhan* ) ( 1533 A. D. ) in Puri, many things that happened in his life, are in many respects similar to the experiences of Muslim mystics. Constant recitation of the name of Kṛṣṇa was the sweetest sacred duty of his life. This recitation or "*Japa*" was not like the "*Japa*" prescribed in Hindu literature for performing *Yoga* practices. It was a "*Japa*" just similar to the Ṣūfī recitation of God's name called "*Dhikr*". Chaitanya Deva used to recite the name of Kṛṣṇa sometimes alone and sometimes with his followers not as a means of attaining *Yoga* perfection, but as an outpouring of his heart fastened with the tie of love with Kṛṣṇa. So did the Ṣūfīs perform *Dhikr*. Just as the Ṣūfīs used to experience the state of "*Hāl*" or ecstasy along with the performance of *Dhikr* in congregational or secegrational manner, so also Chaitanya Deva used to reach the state of "*Daṣā*" or insensible ecstatic state at the time of reciting Kṛṣṇa's name in congregation or segregation. The followers of the Ṣūfīs used to recite the name of God into the ears of their masters at the time of their insensible ecstatic state (*Hāl*), so did the followers of Chaitanya for bringing him back to his senses. The Ṣūfī principle of "*Fanā-fillāh*"

(i.e. in the unitative state of a mystic he can merge himself into God to allow him sometimes the latitude of uttering the blasphemous phrase "*Anā-'l-ḥaqq*" or I am the Real) seems to have some influence on the life of Chaitanya Deva. He used to utter in some of his mystic trances the phrase "I am He, I am He",<sup>1</sup> which is exactly similar to the Ṣufī phrase "*Anā-'l-ḥaqq*".

In this way, many devotional acts of Chaitanya Deva bear striking resemblances to various acts of the Ṣufīs. Such resemblances remind us of the general Ṣufī influence on Bengal as well as on the life of Chaitanya Deva. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, A.D., influence of the Ṣufīs was at its zenith in Bengal, and we are informed by Jayānanda, the author of "*Chaitanya Mangal*", of the fact that some Brāhmins used to read "*Mansari*" (a corrupt Bengali form of Persian "*Mathnawī*") of Mawlānā Jalālu'd-Din Rūmī (1207-1273), the celebrated Persian mystic, at the time of Chaitanya Deva. From this, it can be surmised that Chaitanya Deva too was acquainted with the literature of the Ṣufīs, both Indian and foreign. During his educative tour to the Deccan and Northern India (and again after the completion of this tour), Chaitanya became a perfect mystic as a Ṣufī attains on the life of his perfection "*Kamāṭliyat*", after the completion of his educative tour), he met with different kinds of mystics, learned men and religious leaders among whom there were Muslims. Only one instance of his interchange of ideas with the Muslim divines is recorded in a passing way in the "*Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*" by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāj, the most learned theologian of the Bengali Vaisnabs. From this we come to know, while Chaitanya Deva was returning from Brindāvana, he met with a Pathan named Bijlī Khān who was in the company of his "*Pir*" clad in black clothes. Chaitanya Deva defeated the Pathan and his "*Pir*" by his persuasive and abstruse arguments

1. *Chaitanya and His Companion*—Dr. Dines Chandra Sen (Cal. Uni), p. 170.

"মুন্নি সেই, মুন্নি সেই, কহি কহি হাসে।" চৈতন্য ভাগবত।

Tran :—Uttering "*I am He, I am He*" he (i.e. Chaitanya) laughs.

and converted them both to Vaisnabism. All these show that Chaitanya Deva was not free from the influence of the Ṣūfis and hence, it is not at all improbable that the mystic life and teachings of Chaitanya Deva would bear at least some resemblances to those of the Ṣūfis.

However, the mystic religious creed of Chaitanya Deva is generally known as the Gauḍian form of Vaisnabism i. e. the Bengli type of older Vaisnabism. This new type differs in many respects from its original form and the points of difference are a number of novelties introduced by Chaitanya Deva into the early form of type and Bengali Vaisnabism. These novelties are much closer to type of Vaisna- Islām in general and Ṣūfism in particular than bism is due to Hinduism. We shall elaborately discuss them in the influence of their proper places. What we like to point out here is this that the novelties of Gauḍian Vaisnabism were the result of a long contact of Islām with Bengal and of Ṣūfism with Chaitanya Deva. In this connection, the following learned remarks of the famous Bengali critic Mr. Pramatha Choudhury are useful. He says (vide the *Pravāsi*, 1338 B. S. *Baiśakh*).

“This new Vaisnabism (i. e. Gauḍian Vaisnabism) of middle ages in India was only a new off-shoot of the pristine Hinduism. But, the cause of this novelty was the influence of Islām. Who does not know that Islām is mainly a religion of extreme devotion? For nearly five hundred years, Hinduism had been living side by side with Islām, and this is why Vaisnabism of middle ages in India is so close to Islām. The doctrines of Monotheism and equality of man are the two great principles of Islām. For this reason, this new Hinduism recognized even the full right of non-Hindus in their admission to it. There are lots of instances of the recognition of this right in the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita* and the *Chaitanya Bhāgabat*”.\*

\* ভারতবর্ষের মধ্যযুগের এই নব বৈষ্ণবধর্মও সনাতন হিন্দু ধর্মের একটি নব শাখা মাত্র। তবে এই নবত্বের কারণ, মুসলমান ধর্মের প্রভাব। মুসলমান ধর্ম যে প্রধানতঃ ঐকান্তিক ভক্তির ধর্ম, একথা কে না জানে? ভারতবর্ষের

A strong pantheistic monotheism is one of the marked features which separate Vaiṣṇabism of Bengali type from other types.

Pantheistic conception of monotheism is also found in the *Upaniṣads*, but there is a subtle difference between the conception of the *Upaniṣads* and the notion of the Bengali Vaiṣṇab scriptures. In the

*Upaniṣads* a strong stress has been given on its pantheistic side, while in the Bengali Vaiṣṇab scriptures, it is just the reverse. In other words, germs of monotheism are found in the *Upaniṣads*, but they have germinated in the Vaiṣṇab scriptures. Bengali Vaiṣṇab conception of God centres upon Kṛiṣṇa :

“Kaiṣṇa Himself is God ; He is the ultimate Reality ; He is full-knowlede, full bliss, and ultimate excellence”.<sup>(1)</sup>

In this way, the Bengali Vaiṣṇabs concentrate all their thoughts upon Kṛiṣṇa and consider Him the only supreme Deity—a deity of love who can do and undo everything He likes. He is like a great Lord who controls His servants according to His sweet will :

“Kṛiṣṇa alone is the Lord ; others are His servants.

They dance in the manner, He makes them dance.”<sup>(2)</sup>

Such strong monotheistic conception of Kṛiṣṇa has again been

মধ্যযুগের বৈষ্ণব ধর্ম যে মুসলমান ধর্মের এতটা গা-ঘেঁষা, তার কারণ পাঁচশ বছর ধরে হিন্দু ধর্ম ও মুসলমান ধর্ম পাশাপাশি বাস করে আসছিল। একেশ্বরবাদ ও মানুষমাত্রেরই যে ভগবানের সন্তান, এ দুটিই হচ্ছে মুসলমান ধর্মের বড় কথা। তাই এই নব হিন্দুধর্মে অহিন্দুরও প্রবেশের পূর্ণ অধিকার ছিল। তা যে ছিল, তার প্রমাণ চৈতন্য ভাগবত ও চৈতন্য চরিতামৃতের মধ্যে দেদার আছে।”

প্রবাসী, বৈশাখ, ১৩৩৮ বাং।

- (1) “স্বয়ং ভগবান কৃষ্ণ, কৃষ্ণ পরতত্ত্ব,  
পূর্ণজ্ঞান, পূর্ণানন্দ, পরম মহত্ত্ব।”

চৈতন্য চরিতামৃত—আদিলীলা—দ্বিতীয় পরিচ্ছেদ।

- (2) “একেলা ঈশ্বর কৃষ্ণ, আর সব ভূতা,  
যারে যৈছে নাচায়, সে তৈছে করে নৃত্য।”

চৈতন্য চরিতামৃত—আদিলীলা—পঞ্চম পরিচ্ছেদ।



strengthened by attributing the idea of transcendence to Kṛiṣṇa. He is the great Lord who pervades the whole universe. He is the fountain-head of everything and the ultimate cause of all causes :

“Kṛiṣṇa is the Great Lord, who himself is God ;  
He is the fountain-head of all *Avatārs* and the ultimate  
cause of all causes.  
He is the container of innumerable heavens,  
Sundry *Avatārs* and multiferious worlds”.<sup>(1)</sup>

Although Kṛiṣṇa encompasses the universe, He manifests Himself through it. This universe is, therefore, a place of His manifestation. But, the universe is a representation of the phenomena only ; hence it is very likely to attribute phenomenal manifestation to Kṛiṣṇa. Such a conception of manifestation may ultimately give rise to doubt about the fact that as Kṛiṣṇa is manifesting Himself through the different phenomena, He may not be essentially one. But, the Vaiṣṇavs of Bengal are of the opinion that in spite of the phenomenal manifestation of Kṛiṣṇa, He is essentially one and one only :

“It is due to Kṛiṣṇa’s wish that the universe is His  
manifestation ;  
His entity is one and it has no two forms”.<sup>(2)</sup>

- ( ১ ) ঈশ্বর পরম কৃষ্ণ স্বয়ং ভগবান,  
সর্ব অবতারী সর্ব কারণ প্রধান ।  
অনন্ত বৈকুণ্ঠ আর অনন্ত অবতার,  
অনন্ত ব্রহ্মাণ্ড ইহা সবার আধার ।”  
চৈতন্য চরিতামৃত—মধ্যলীলা—অষ্টম পরিচ্ছেদ ।
- ( ২ ) “ব্রহ্মাণ্ড প্রকাশ তার, কৃষ্ণের ইচ্ছার,  
একই স্বরূপ তার নাহি দুই কার ।”  
চৈতন্য চরিতামৃত—আদিলীলা—পঞ্চম পরিচ্ছেদ ।

Then how is it possible? How can that Entity which exists in different phenomena at the same time, be one and one only? The Vaiṣṇabs argue that if the figures of an image are painted in different colours by different artists at the same time, no impairment is done on the original form of the image. They further add that when the sun is reflected in various glasswares, unity of the sun is not at all impaired by its manifestation in different glasswares. So also, when Kṛiṣṇa manifests Himself through the phenomenal world, His unity is not at all impaired :

“If an image assumes different forms,

In shape, it does not differ,—the original form remaining  
the same<sup>1</sup>

“Just as a single sun is reflected in innumerable glasswares,  
So also each creature manifests only a part of Govinda i. e.  
Kṛiṣṇa”<sup>2</sup>

From the above discussion it will be clear that Kṛiṣṇa is one and He is the ultimate Reality. He is the all-powerful Supreme Deity who pervades the universe which is a place of His manifestation. In spite of His manifestation through the phenomenal world, He is essentially one and only one. We may here compare such pantheistic conception of monotheism of the Vaiṣṇabs of Bengal with the Indian Şufi conception of *Tawḥid* or Divine Unity. Both the Şufi theosophist and the Vaiṣṇab theologian meet on the same platform of pantheism and monotheism amalgamated with each other (vide, the Indian Şufi theory of *Tawḥid* expounded in the third chapter of this book). Such transcendent and immanent character of Kṛiṣṇa, as is found in-

1. “একই বিগ্রহ যদি হয় বহুরূপ,  
আকারেহ ভেদ নাহি, একই স্বরূপ।”  
চেতন চরিতামৃত—আদিলীলা—প্রথম পরিচ্ছেদ।
2. “অনন্ত ফটকে যৈছে এক সূর্য ভাসে,  
তৈছে জীব গোবিন্দের অংশ প্রকাশে।”  
চেতন চরিতামৃত—আদিলীলা—দ্বিতীয় পরিচ্ছেদ।

"I reside in the universe, and the universe resides in me ;  
Neither am I reside in the universe, nor the universe  
resides in me"<sup>1</sup>

is exactly similar to such Indian Sūfī idea as :

"All atoms of the universe are signs of Thy essence ;  
In spite of these signs why hast Thou no sign".<sup>2</sup>

It is needless to cite further illustrations on the subject of similarity between the Indian Sūfī conception of *Tawhīd* and the Bengali Vaiṣṇab conception of Kṛiṣṇa. Both the conceptions are exactly similar in design and in the lineal development of fundamental ideas. The cause of such similarity is—

Strength in both of them drew inspirations from the *Upaniṣads* ;  
monotheism is but Sūfīism is indebted to the *Upaniṣads* for its  
the legacy of pantheistic development in Persia and India, while  
Islam. Bengali Vaiṣṇabism is indebted to the *Upaniṣads*

for both of its pantheistic and monotheistic development. It should be noted here that monotheism of the *Upaniṣads* was greatly overshadowed by pantheism ; but monotheism in Sūfīism ultimately triumphed over pantheism and this is due to the strong and rigid conception of monotheism in Islām. Bengali Vaiṣṇabism might have received its montheistic conception from the *Upaniṣads* ; but the strength which it possesses in its design and conception, was certainly borrowed from the Sūfis of India.

The Vaiṣṇab conception of '*Rādhā*' and the Sūfī conception of '*Saqī*' are exactly similar to each other in essence. According to the Vaiṣṇab theologians, *Rādhā* and Kṛiṣṇa are identical ; they are two names of only one God. In support of this

1. "আমিত জগতে বসি, জগত আমাতে,  
না আমি জগতে বসি, না আমা জগতে।"

চৈতন্য চরিতামৃত—আদিলীলা—পঞ্চম পরিচ্ছেদ।

2. Vide *Supra* the Theory of *Tawhīd*, pp, 62-66.

theory, they say :

“Just as the musk and its odour, are inseparable,  
Just as difference never exists between the fire and its flame,  
So also Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are always one in manifestation;  
(But) they assume many forms to test the sweetness of amour”<sup>1</sup>.  
Such identical conception of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa led the Vaiṣṇabs  
to explain Rādhā as the symbolical representation  
of Love Divine or *Prema*.<sup>2</sup> The Śūfis too symbo-  
lically represent *Sāqī* or cup-bearer of ‘*Ishq*’ or Divine  
Love as wine i.e. *Khamar* or *Badah*.

It is necessary to mention here that symbolical representation of abstract ideas is a typical characteristic of Aryan race and Aryan mind. Naturally the speculative Aryan race have always expressed their subjective ideas in some concrete forms through the medium of symbols, and the Śūfis, specially Indo-Iranian ones, no doubt inherited this quality from their Aryan ancestors. In the case of the Bengali Vaiṣṇabs it may be argued that they too inherited the Aryan quality of symbolical representation. But, when we mark that nowhere in India before the birth of Chaitanya Deva was made such representation of Divine Love as the Bengali Vaiṣṇabs did, we can naturally suspect the influence of the Śūfis on the Vaiṣṇabs of Bengal. Probably for this reason, just like the Śūfī literature of Persia and India, “in the vast literature of the Vaisnabs, a stress is laid on *Prema* or spiritual love. It is not that romantic sentiment which a man feels for a woman, nor that a mother feels for her child, though for the purpose of expressing it in literature, it becomes inevitable to adopt the phraseology of human passion”<sup>3</sup>. In the words

1. “স্বগমদ তার গন্ধ যৈছে অবিচ্ছেদ,  
অগ্নি জ্বালাতে যৈছে কড়ু নাহি ভেদ।  
রাধাকৃষ্ণ ঐছে সদা একই স্বরূপ,  
লীলারস আস্বাদিতে ধরে নানারূপ।”

চৈতন্য চরিতামৃত—আদিলীলা—চতুর্থ পরিচ্ছেদ।

2. *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*, pt. II, Chapter, viii.
3. *Chaitanya and His Companion*, -Dr. D. C. Sen ( cal. Uui ), p. 177.

of the Vaiṣṇabs, the nature of *Prema* has been described thus :

“*Kāma* and *Prema*—these two possess different characteristics,  
Just as iron and gold are different in forms.

Desire for gratification of one’s senses is called *Kāma* ;

And desire to please Kṛiṣṇa has given the name *Prema*.

Ultimate goal of *Kāma* is only the sensual enjoyment of life ;

And ultimate goal of pleasing Kṛiṣṇa is to be maddened  
with *Prema*.

... ..  
... ..

Therefore *Kāma* and *Prema* are poles apart ,

*Kāma* is the thick darkness, while *Prema* is the bright sun.”<sup>1</sup>

Does not this *Prema* exactly correspond with ‘*Ishq*’ of the ṣufis ? In fact, *Kāma* and *Prema* are not two different things; they are but two names of one thing, viz. desire. When the desire (*ichchhā*) of a man is directed to the satisfaction of his senses, it is called *Kāma*. and when it is directed to the satisfaction of God, it is called ‘*Prema*’. The Ṣufis while describing love or ‘*Ishq*’ as the desire of a moth for the burning lamp or of a nightingale for the rose, simply mean to say that only attraction for God is called *Ishq*. A Ṣufi ‘*Ishq*’ is only a deadly

1. “কাম প্রেম দোঁহাকার বিভিন্ন লক্ষণ,  
লৌহ আর হৈম যৈছে স্বরূপ বিলক্ষণ।  
আশ্বেজিয় প্রীতি ইচ্ছা তারে বলি কাম,  
কুশ্বেজিয় প্রীতি ইচ্ছা ধরে প্রেম নাম।  
কামের তাৎপর্য নিজ সম্ভোগ কেবল,  
কৃষ্ণ সুখ তাৎপর্য মাত্র প্রেমেতে প্রবল।

\* \* \*  
\* \* \*

অতএব কাম প্রেম বহু ত অন্তর,  
কাম অন্ধ তমঃ, প্রেম নির্মল ভাস্কর।”

চেতন চরিতায়ত—আদিলীলা—চতুর্থ পরিচ্ছেদ ।

fascination for God and not an infatuation with other being or thing. Therefore, the Śufīs have devided 'Ishq into two classes, viz., 'Ishq-i-mizāzī or sensual love, 'Ishq-i-ḥaqīqī or divine love. 'Prema' of the Vaiṣṇabs bears exactly the same connotation as has 'Ishq-i-ḥaqīqī of the Śufīs.

The message of eliminating caste and creed, so loudly preached by Chaitanya Deva throughout his whole life through his action, thought and speech, is another important Chaitanya's eli- Vaiṣṇab dogma that betrays the influence of Islām mination of and its Śufīs on Chaitanya Deva and the movement caste and creed he launched. Historical literature of the Vaiṣṇabs and the influence records lots of instances to show, how deeply of Islam on it. Chaitanya Deva was moved at heart to see the fallen mankind, and as such how genuinely he tried to lead them to a goal where caste, creed, birth, virtue or vice had absolutely no power to debar a man from attaining it. Elimination of all distinctions in humanity i. e., universal brotherhood is the most distinctive feature of Islām and particularly its Śufīs. In India and specially in Bengal, the clarion call of the Śufīs through the message of universal brotherhood undoubtedly attracted a large number of masses already groaning under the grinding wheel of social inequality and sacerdotal tyranny. This Islāmic message of universal brotherhood undoubtedly worked in his mind, when he preached to eliminate caste and creed, and publicly admitted Muslims, Chāndāls, and other low and high caste people to his Vaiṣṇab creed.

Introduction of "Kīrtana" ( or a musical performance in praise of Kṛiṣṇa done amidst a Vaiṣṇab assembly ) as a devotional religious performance is generally admitted to be one of the special achievements of Chaitanya Deva. Though Hindu religious service by means of songs has a pre-Halqah on Chaitanya origin, yet Kīrtana is almost different from that of earlier kinds. It is done with a musical performance in praise of Kṛiṣṇa, the Lord of the Vaiṣṇabs. In order to heighten the effect of music on the minds of participants of the Kīrtana party, cymbals and drums were

beaten agreeably to musical measure. The participants of the party often scream and dance in excitedly ecstatic mood. The performers of *Kīrtana* sometimes go out in procession on public streets and sometimes assemble in certain places for the purpose of congregational performance. In so far as these things are concerned, *Kīrtana* perfectly resembles the *Ṣūfī* performance of *Ḥalqah*. A *halqah* literally means "a circle", but technically in the *Ṣūfī* sense it means "an assembly of persons met together for the purpose of devotional exercises through the medium of *dhikr* accompanied by *sama* or musical performance. Congregation, music, screamings, dance, ecstasy and devotion,—all these are common in both *Kīrtana* and *Ḥalqah*. *Chishtī* and *Suhrawardī* saints introduced *Ḥalqah* into India and through the agency of their devoted followers, this kind of devotional performance was made familiar to the people of Bengal long before the birth of *Chaitanya* Deva. It is therefore, not unreasonable to hold that the *Ṣūfī* performance of *Ḥalqah* was the immediate and real source from which *Chaitanya* Deva drew inspiration for and made the idea of initiating a novel devotional performance like *Kīrtana*.

Such was the influence of the *Ṣūfīs* on the life and teachings of *Chaitanya* Deva. "His life not only inspired religious men but also supplied inspiration to those writers (both Hindus and Muslims) who have given poetical accounts of his emotions under the allegory of *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa*"<sup>1</sup>. The *Vaiṣṇab* literature of Bengal that grew up in this way, after the demise of *Chaitanya* Deva, became classic amidst the finest mystic production of the Bengali genius. This classical mystic literary production of the Bengalis resembles the *Ṣūfī* literature of Persia and India in many respects. As it is not the proper place to account for the influence of the *Ṣūfī* literature on the literature of the *Vaiṣṇabs*, we do not like to proceed further. Suffice it to say that an erudite scholar like Dr. Dinesh *Chandra* Sen, has admitted the influence of the *Ṣūfī* literature on the literature of the *Vaiṣṇabs* in the following few lines :-

1. *Chaitanya and His Companion*, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen (Cal. Uni), p. 177.

"The Muhammadans have amongst them their Šufī poets and mystics, such as Jalālu-'d-Dīn Rūmī ( 1207-1273 A. D. ), Ḥāfiẓ ( 1300-1388 ) and Jāmī ( 1414-1493 ) who have expressed the ideas which are closely similar to those to be found in the Song of Songs and in the lyrical poems of the Vaiṣṇabas."<sup>1</sup>

However, within a century or two after the *Tirodhāna* (1533) of the great mystic leader Chaitanya Deva, there came a great change in the fundamental creeds and the social order of the Vaiṣṇabs of Bengal. One by one the prominent companions of Chaitanya Deva who were more or less mystics of the type of their Master, departed from the world leaving the newly formed community to grow and expand in its own way. It was a great tragedy to the Vaiṣṇab community of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that no worthy younger mystics were born to fill up the lacunae of the august personages died after the demise of their Master. In the absence of any living example to inspire the community with the ideal of the departed Master, and of any written credential laws necessary for the growth of new community, the learned Vaiṣṇabs of Bengal began to build up their own creeds and laws with the zeal of revivalistic learning,

Growth of sects among the Vaiṣṇabs of Bengal intellect and memory. Most of the subsequent builders of Vaiṣṇab creed were well-versed in dogmatic Hindu *śāstras*, and consequently in the creeds which now grew up, Brahmanic minds and intellect of the Vaiṣṇab savants triumphed over the cosmopolitan mystic creed of the great Master. As a result of this, following the demise of Chaitanya Deva, the number of theological books like *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*, *Chaitanya Bhāgavat*, *Haribhakti Vilāsa*, etc. rapidly increased. In all these books, mystic creeds of Chaitanya Deva were explained and interpreted in the light of Brahmanism. And the Vaiṣṇabs of Bengal began to interpret their creed freely using intellect and scholasticism, which Chaitanya Deva discarded throughout his mystic career. His followers forgot the real significance of his creed and built up subsequently a Vaiṣṇab theology replete with intellectualism and Brahmanism.

1. *Chaitanya and His Companion*, -Dr, Dinesh Chandra Sen (Cal. Uni.), p. 172



During this time, the Vaiṣṇabs re-introduced caste system amongst them, shut up the door of their community against the people of other faith, began to adore the idols of Chaitanya and Kṛiṣṇa in the temples and outside them, and gave the place of a god to Nityānanda and Advaita. This result of the triumph of intellectualism over mysticism and of Brahmanism over the cosmopolitan creeds of Chaitanya Deva gave birth to the different sects of the Vaiṣṇab community. Amongst these, the following few sects are prominent : (i) Sahajiyā, (ii) Gauravādī, (iii) Darvesh, (iv) Neḍā (v) Sakhibhāvak, (vi) Sādhvinī, (vii) Kartābhajā, (viii) Āul, (ix) Sāñī. Though these sects owe a formal allegiance to Vaiṣṇabism, yet they differ in many respects from the the theological points of view of the Vaiṣṇabs. Their sectarian tenets and teachings breathe an air of liberalism which we do not find in the theological Vaiṣṇabism, built up laborously after the death of Chaitanya Deva. With the exception of one or two, all of these sects strongly denounced idolatry, and distinction between man and man, caste-system, intellectualism and the belief in gods and goddesses. From this, the influence of Islām on these sects can better be visualised than is described. The following brief account of these sects will show the extent and limit of the influence of Islām on them :

(i) Sahajiyā : Though Sahajiyās are generally regarded as a Vaiṣṇab sect, they had an early origin. This sect grew at the time of the decadence of Buddhism. But its later association with Vaiṣṇabism brought such change on it as Sahajiyā. to pass for a Vaiṣṇab sect. The people of this sect observe no formalities of religion, carry out no moral or religious law, and allow the people of all creeds and faiths to enter into their sect. The main principle of their sectarian creed is to revolt against the artificial religion of man, and to follow a natural (*Sahaj*) way of life. They care little for the society but much for the gratification of senses. They regard the passion as a good natural quality of men and hence, do not like to extinct it by the mortification of flesh. They believe that God can only be realised by the passionate adoration of a Female called *Prakṛiti*. In their opinion love divine is then possible, when sensual one is fully satisfied. It should be noted here

that there is a class of Šufīs who hold that the realisation of ‘*Išhq-i-mizāzī*’ or sensual love is a stepping stone to the realisation of ‘*Išhq-i-ḥaqīqī*’ or divine love.

(ii) Gauravādī : The Vaiṣṇabs of this sect worship Gaurāṅga ( i. e. Chaitanya Deva ) as an incarnation of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. They are of the opinion that as worship of Gaurāṅga can serve the purpose of the worship of Rādhā and Gauravādī. Kṛṣṇa both, there is no necessity of worshipping Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In pursuit of this theory, they install the idol of Gaurāṅga and none else in their temples.

(iii) Darveshī : The foundation of this sect is generally attributed to Sanātan, one of the devoted followers of Chaitanya Deva. Sanātan was a minister of Ḥusayn Shāh (1493-1519 A.D.) and was living a thoroughly Muslimised life in the royal Court of Gauḍ. When Chaitanya Deva founded his mystic community, Sanātan became penitent of his conduct, and tried to join it.

But Ḥusayn Shāh did not allow him to do so.

Darveshi One day Sanātan being clad in ‘*darwish*’-suit, fled from the metropolis, joined the Vaiṣṇab community and was initiated by Chaitanya Deva into his creed at Kāśī. In course of time, he became one of the prominent companions of the great Master and passed the rest of his life in Brindāvana commanding unusual respect from the members of his community. On his death, his few zealous followers revolted from the main order and established a new sect with the injunction binding on them that they would have to wear *darvesh*-dress which their master clad at the time of his flight from Gauḍ. Indifference to the world ( *Vairāgya* ) is the main principle of their life and to act in opposition to any codified religious law is the chief characteristic of their conduct. These indifferent Vaiṣṇabs always recite the mystic formula *Dīn daradī* which apparently means “The humble sympathiser”. These people ultimately identified them with the Bāuls of Bengal of whom we shall later on discuss.

(iv) Neḍā : Virbhadrā, the son of Nityānanda was the

founder of this sect. They condemned idolatry, worshipped *Prakṛiti* like the *Sahajiyās* and thought it unlawful *Neḍa*. to mortify flesh by fast and prayer. They afterwards affiliated themselves to the *Bāuls*.

(v) *Sakḥibhāvak*: According to the *Vaiṣṇab* tradition, *Chaitanya Deva* himself was the founder of this sect, in this sense that he deemed him *Rādhā*, mad in love with *Kṛiṣṇa*. Realisation of *Kṛiṣṇa* through *Prema* only is the main object of this sect. Belief in *Kṛiṣṇa* as husband and in themselves as His *Sakḥīs* or female friends with whom *Kṛiṣṇa* played His amorous sport (*Līlā*) in *Brindavana*, is the criterion of their faith. Both in practice and belief they are feminine and hence *Sakḥibhāvak*. they all (both male and female) wear dresses and ornaments of the females.

It should be noted here that this *Sakḥibhāvak* sect of Bengal is exactly parallel in belief and practice to the *Sadāsohāg* group of Northern Indian *Suhrawardī Śūfis*.<sup>1</sup> It is not at all improbable that the *Sadāsohāg Śūfi* sect founded by *Shāh Mūsā Sadāsohāg* (d. 1449 A.D.), influenced the *Vaiṣṇabs* through the medium of itinerant *Suhrawardī Śūfis* of Bengal.

(vi) *Sādhvinī*: This sect grew out of the association of extremists among those *Vaiṣṇabs* who revolted against the hard and fast *Śāstric* injunctions of the community. They *Sādhvinī*. remain celibate and never become householders.

They practically denounce caste system and untouchability, drink wine, eat meat and commit all kinds of unlawful deed. In short, they believe it their duty to act in opposition to everything established by general consensus of people.

(vii) *Kartābhajā*: This is the biggest sect among the *Vaiṣṇabs* of Bengal. In practice and teachings the difference between the original community and this sect is so wide that it may virtually be regarded as an independent sect.

*Kartābhajā* It was rather an independent mystic order (institution) than a sect of the *Vaiṣṇabs*. *Āul Chānd* the founder of this sect was a great mystic and organizer. The superior

1. Vide *Supra* pp. 49-50.

capacity of his organization and the mystic life he led, not only contributed to the success of his sect and its spread in different parts of Bengal, but also made him a living source of inspiration for his followers for long.

In the year 1694 A. D. (1616 Śaka), Mahādeva, a betel-seller of Ulāgrāma in Nadiyā found a boy, eight years old, in his betel-field, while he went to work there. He brought the boy to his house and left him under the care of his wife who brought him up with care and affection. At this time, the boy was affectionately called *Pūrṇa Chandra* or Full Moon. In his early age, he came in contact with Balarām Dās, a famous Vaiṣṇab Guru, and became one of his disciples after due initiation. From this time forward, he was known by the name of Āul Chāṇḍ. For twenty-seven years, he made pilgrimages to innumerable sacred places of India and at last settled at Nadiyā to preach his new creed. Persuasion, miracle and the occult power of healing incurable diseases were the chief weapons by which he attracted people to believe in his new creed. Soon he found that he had succeeded to gather round him a large following, who became afterwards known as the Kartābhajās. He had a band of twenty-two prominent disciples consisting of Pāñchu Muchi, Kṛṣṇadās, Bechu Ghose, Rām Śaraṇ, Lakṣmīkānta, Viṣṇudās and others. All these disciples helped their master in his propaganda, and used to preach in Bengali.

Āul Chāṇḍ led a saintly life. He used to put on an *Āl-khella* (i. e. a loose garment flowing down the knee), *Kāñthā* (i. e. patch-work), and *Kaupīn* (i. e. shred). Thus living humbly, he acquired different popular titles, such as *Faqīr*, *Thākur*, *Gosāñi*, *Sāñi* etc. During the Bengali month of *Valśākḥ* in 1691 Śaka corresponding to April and May of 1769 A. D., Āul Chāṇḍ heard the pathetic news of impending death of Kṛṣṇadās, his favourite disciple, went to visit him in his native village Boyāliyā, caught fever and died.

His was a cosmopolitan creed in which he admitted warmly all people without any distinction of caste or creed. He condemned no religion, no god and no great man professing any

faith. He inculcated the principle of worshipping *Viśva Kartā* or the Lord of the universe as the fundamental belief of his creed. His followers are, therefore, known as *Kartābhajās* or Worshippers of the Lord. The ten commandments which he urged on his followers are as follows :

(i) Only worship the Lord of the universe ( *Viśva Kartā* ) who is differently called as *Kṛṣṇa*, *Chaitanya* and *Āul Chāṇḍ*. Though these three persons are regarded as incarnations, (*Avatārs*) they form one and only one Lord, and again one Lord has been incarnated into three persons. Do not ever condemn any god, any religion or religions, and saintly or ordinary person.

(ii) Do not deem the Guru who initiates you to be a man, always keep his image visualised before your mind's eye and circumambulate him once a day if possible.

(iii) Never tell a lie and always adhere to truth. Strongly believe that only Guru is true and adversity is false.

(iv) As an only means for the culture of self, constantly remember and recite the word *Hari* as the specific name of *Kartā*.

(v) In every place and all times discuss pious and good subjects and the religious matters of the *Vaiṣṇabs*.

(vi) Be hospitable with heart and soul to the guests.

(vii) Put on washed clothes in the morning and evening.

(viii) Take food from all, but do not take meat.

(ix) Purify your body by eating small quantity of earth taken from the foot of a *Tulasī* plant ( *ocynum sanctum* ), just before you take food.

(x) Never divulge the secret of the sect to anybody.

The Guru who initiates is called a "*Mahāḡaya*" and the initiated disciple a "*Barāṭī*". The people of this sect recognize like the *Ṣūfīs*, four stages of spiritual perfection, which are as follows :-(a) *Pravartak* or the stage of a novice, (b) *Sādhak* or the stage of an ascetic, (c) *Siddha* or the stage of a gnostic, (d) *Siddher Siddha* or the stage of the gnostic of gnostics.

( VIII and IX ) *Āul* and *Sāṇī* :- These two small sects were not the sects of the *Vaiṣṇabs*, but two sub-sects *Āul* and *Sāṇī*. of the *Kartābhajās*. Those who were regularly indifferent to the world and possessed deep mystic trend of mind among the *Kartābhajā* sect separated themselves

from the main group and soon formed parties of their own. Independence of thought and the real salvation from all tremels of sectarian laws and regulations were the chief characteristics of these two small sects. In every respect they were identical with the Bāuls and we shall discuss their creed and belief later on.

So far as the Śūfī influence on Hindu society and religion is concerned, it worked in Bengal in the spheres and manner described above. Let us now take up one by one other aspects of Śūfī influence on the minds and actions of the people of this country.

Growth of cordiality and unity between the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal is one of the great achievements that the Śūfīs accomplished in this country. From this point of view, the Śūfīs may fairly be regarded as the connecting link of union between the rulers and the ruled. It has been surmised by eminent scholars

that the caste-ridden Hindu masses of Bengal welcomed the Muslim conquerors as their deliverers of cordiality and from the sacerdotal and powerful classes.<sup>1</sup> But this unity between the welcome could neither be cordial nor be friendly. Hindus and Mus- It was no doubt a mere formal one. They accor- lims of Bengal. ded a welcome to the Muslims probably for the betterment of their political condition and social life.

They wistfully hoped that even the alien beef-eating Turks would be non-interfering into their own affairs. The relation thus established between the masses of Bengal and the Muslim conquerors, was fundamentally based on selfish consideration, and hence whenever the first opportunity came, both of them threw off the relation and came in clash with each other. History furnishes us with ample proof of this. At the same time it is also a fact that the Hindus as well as the converted Muslims could not receive their new conquerors in the light and manner as they would have done it. As a result of this state of affair, there remained a gulf of difference,—a difference in custom,

1. Vide, *Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal*—Haraprasād Sastri, 1897, pp. 27-30.

belief, culture, and civilisation, between the foreign Musalmans and Bengali Musalmans and their Hindu subjects.

The Şufīs bridged this gulf by their *Şubhodaya* (blessed advent) into this country along with the advent of the warring Muslims. By the establishment of Muslim Kingdom mainly through bravery and gallantry of the Turks and by the introduction of Islāmic culture and civilisation, the early Muslims of Bengal created a sort of inferiority complex in the minds of their subjects. The Şufīs of Bengal first took the lead to the direction of removing this pernicious sense from the minds of the Muslims as well as the Hindus by the preaching of equality, fraternity and liberality. In the lowly *Khānaqāhs* of the Şufīs and the humble *Astānahs* of darwishes, both the Hindus and the Muslims used to meet together and exchange their views. Liberal views and fraternizing influence of the Şufīs were daily drawing the two people of different religions closer and closer, and ultimately during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the two communities were greatly united together by the inalienable bond of mutual toleration and fraternity. On this broad-based foundation, there grew up many new cults in Bengal of which the cult of *Satya Pīr* and *Mānik Pīr* still exist. A fairly old and vast literature that has come down to our hands through the labour of scholars belonging to different parts of Bengal, convinces us that these two cults had once a strong hold on the minds of the masses of Bengal and that they were the emblem of Hindu-Muslim unity in this country. Both the Hindus and the Muslims built up this literature by their continued labour of years together, probably with the hope that they would ultimately be able to bring all on the common platform of '*Satya Pīr*' and '*Mānik Pīr*'. For the sake of information, we like to give below a very brief account of these two cults:—

(a) *Satya Pīr* : The earliest time of the growth of this cult is probably the fifteenth century A. D., and the earliest extant literature of the cult dates from the sixteenth century.\* Fayḍullāh

\*. The earliest books on this subject were composed by Fayḍullāh, the author of *Goraḱṣa Vijaya* and by *Kanka*, the hero of one of the ballads of Mymensing. Both of them were men of the first part of the sixteenth century. As for Fayḍullāh, vide *Vaṅga Bhāṣā-o-Sahitya*.

and Kanka, the two earliest authors of books on Satya Pīr belonged to two different parts of Bengal, viz., one to the Northern, and the other to the Eastern Bengal. From this, it can be easily surmised that the cult of Satya Pīr was popular in those two parts of Bengal in the sixteenth century.

Satya Pīr cult As time passed, its popularity increased and at a bird's eye last in the eighteenth century it became popular view of its growth everywhere in Bengal. A vast eulogistic literature and development, of the cult belongs to this period. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, this cult was first checked

by the reform-movement of the puritanic Muslims. Now the popularity of the cult among the Muslims has almost gone, but the belief in him as 'Pīr' seems to be lingering still among the people of some parts of Bengal, such as Dinājpur, Rangpur, Māldah, Midnapur, Burdwan, Howrah, and 24 Parganahs.

Here is a modern description of the worship of Satya Pīr. According to local custom and belief it differs in some detail, but fundamentally it represents modern as well as ancient custom and belief.

"He is worshipped on the evening of the full-moon and by many every month, a Brahmin acting as priest. The ṭhākūr as he is called is reprinted by a drawing on a wooden seat with few loops, called *Māqāms* and a post at each corner, called 'Tīr'. The offerings consist of flower, molasses of sugar and milk (each weighing five 'pawās') betel leaves and nuts (25 each) with 32 plantains. This is the worship of known as '*Kāchchā Sīrni*'. Five *pawā* each of Satya Pīr. '*Pakkā Sīrni*' sweets, '*sandesh*' and '*bātāsā*' are added.

The priest worships Nārāyaṇa and then repeats the story of the God. The articles offered are mixed and made into jelly, part of which are distributed among the worshippers present and the rest is sent to neighbours".<sup>1</sup>

This description of the worship of Satya Pīr may be taken as a modern Hindu version of his worship. For the sake of

5th ed. by Dr. D. C. Sen, pp. 59-60 ; and for Kanka, vide introduction and the ballads of Mymensing ballads by Dr. D. C. Sen.

1. Bengal District Gazetter—Howrah, pp. 46-47.



comparison, we quote below a Muslim version as recorded in the printed book (1335 B. S.) on Satya Pīr by one Munshi Wajid 'Alī :

"Inviting all relatives to his house, and collecting the necessary articles, he offers *Shirni* to the Pīr. One and one fourth maunds of flour and the same quantity of sugar, curd and *birānī* he brings. He mixes all these articles with ripe plantain and prepares *haluā* by which he fills up dining plates. One thousand betel-leaves, the same number of nuts, perfumeries like *Aguru*, *Chandan*, *Chūā*, *Golāb*, *Kasturī* etc. and many garlands of flowers, he first offers to the '*Astāna*' and then places them in decorative order on the *chaukī* or the wooden seat. Then he places a large number of cocoanuts and firmly plants four *Tīrs* or arrows on four sides of the *chaukī*. Mullāh comes then and finishes the ceremony of *Fatiha*. At this time all recite '*Allah, Allah*' the specific name of God. Then the '*Shirni*' is distributed among the Hindus and Muslims who go to their respective houses."\*

The form of Satya Pīr, as it has been described in the literature of the cult, is very amusing. The legend still current in different parts of Bengal, perfectly corroborates From of Satya the literary description. It is related that Satya Pīr Nārāyaṇa first appeared in the form of a *Faqīr* or Muslim *darwish* and in this form, the Hindus refused to accept him as their god, for he was a *Yavana* or

\* "ডাকিয়া কুটুমগণ আপনার ঘরে । সামনা করিয়া সত্যপীরের শির্নী করে ॥  
সওয়া মণ আনে আটা সওয়া মণ চিনি । সওয়া মণ আনে দধি আর যে বিরানী ॥  
পাকা কলা আটা আদি তাহাতে ঢালিয়া । ভরিল বাসন সব হালুয়া করিয়া ॥  
এক হাজার পান আর যে জুপারী । অঙ্কুর, চন্দন, চুয়া, গোলাব, কস্তুরী ॥  
সকল ফুলের হার আস্তানাতে দিয়া । চৌকির উপরে সব দিল সাজাইয়া ॥  
ঘরপুরে নারিকেল রাখে তারপরে । চারি তীর চারিধারে গাড়িল যে জোরে ॥  
মোম্বাজি আসিয়া ক্ষাতেছা করিল তামাম । আল্লা আল্লা বলে সব এলাহীর নাম ॥  
শির্নী বাঁটিয়া দিল হেঁদু মুসলমানে । পাইয়া শির্নী ঘরে গেল জনে জনে ॥  
সত্যপীরের পুথী—ওয়াজেদ আলী ।

Muslim. So, in order to please the Hindus he again assumed the form of "Nārāyaṇa", and the Hindus accepted him as their god. In this way by assuming the forms of a *Faqīr* and "Nārāyaṇa" alternately, he won the hearts of both Hindus and Muslims. Just like a juggler, he could assume these two forms in the twinkling of an eye. Bhārat Chandra (1712-1760) the court poet of Rājā Kṛṣṇa Chandra, describes him as a *Pīr* in the following manner :

"A bag on his shoulder, a stick in his hand, a cap on his head and patch-works over his body, he looks nice with flowing beard and moustaches. As effulgent as the sun, he constantly recite the words *Pīr* and *Nabī* and covers his body with dust".<sup>1</sup>

Leaving this form of a Muslim saint, when Satya Pīr assumes the form of Nārāyaṇa, none can detect him as a Muslim. He then perfectly becomes a Hindu god in the form of a Brahmin. Fayḍullāh describes his Brahmin form in the following two lines ;

"Garland of bezoar hangs on his neck ; he is Satya  
Nārāyaṇa ;  
He turns him into a Brahmin with rosary made of  
earth".<sup>2</sup>

Such is the popular conception of his form. Both Hindus and Muslims are pleased with him and pays him tribute by the offering of *Shīrīnī* as described above. Neither a Muslim nor a Hindu hesitates to take this *Shīrīnī* of Satya Pīr as *tabarruk* or *prasād* ( both the words meaning—sacred food already offered to a deity).

1. "লক্ষ্মান দাড়ি গোঁপ, গায়ের কাঁথা শিরে টোপ,  
হাতে আসা কাঁধে শোভে ঝুলি ।  
তেজঃপূজ যেন রবি, মুখে বাক্য পীর নবী,  
শরীরেতে মাখে নিতি খুলি ॥"  
ভারত চন্দ্র ।
2. গলায় জহরা দোলে সত্য নারায়ণ ।  
হাতেতে মাটির মালা হইল বামণ ॥  
ফৈজুল্লা ।

The popular belief associated with the name of Satya Pīr is—He is a god or at least a godly person who can grant an all-round prosperity and success. He can give virtues, Popular belief. sanction wealth, fulfil desires and emancipate the soul from bondages of the world. (*Dharma, artha, Kāma, mokshadāta*—Bhārat Chandra). But in spite of all these attributes, the attribute of his being the deity of prosperity and wealth is the chief feature of belief in him. In the extant literature of the Satya Pīr cult, one or other story has been narrated at a considerable length to show the unlimited power of the saint over the prosperity or adversity of the hero who respectfully offers him *Shīrnī* or proudly disregards him. In short, “whoever offers *Shīrnī* to Satya Pīr with whole-hearted devotion, succeeds in everything and is relieved of penury”.<sup>1</sup>

Satya Pīr is generally identified by the Hindus with Nārāyaṇa, and by the Musalmans with a holy darwish of unknown and obscure origin. In these identifications, there is undoubtedly colourings of communal feelings: in a curious way Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa has become the Great *Faqīr* or the wondering *Faqīr* has become the living symbol of Who is Satya Pīr ? Viṣṇu. From the description given above, it will be clearly seen that Satya Pīr neither resembles the Paurāṇic Hindu god Nārāyaṇa nor a real darwish in any description. He is rather an idealized creation of Hindu and Muslim minds, which were in the fifteenth century, eager to meet with each other on a common platform of cordiality and unity. Thus he was and is still an ideal deity venerated by both Hindus and Muslims of Bengal.

In the scriptures of the Hindus, the earliest reference of Satya Nārāyaṇa occurs in the Reva *Khanda* of the Skandha Purāṇa. This *Khanda* or chapter of the said Purāṇa is found in its manuscripts discovered in Bengal and nowhere else in

1. *Bāṅglā Prācīn Puthir Vivaran*, ‘Abdul Karim p. 23.<sup>1</sup>

(1)

‘একিদ্দা করিয়া শিরণী করে যেই জন।

সর্বসিদ্ধি হয় তার দারিদ্র্য মোচন॥”

ফকীর চাঁদ।

India. The chapter is obviously an interpolation added to the original book by the Brahmins of Bengal in or about the fifteenth century A. D.

(b) *Mānik Pīr*: That this cult once acquired a great popularity among the masses of Bengal is proved beyond doubt by the existence of many devotional folk songs still sung in honour of *Mānik Pīr* in the different localities of this province. People of Rangpur, Dinājpur, Jessore and its influence Howrah and 24—Parganahs still draw inspiration on Bengal. from the songs on *Mānik Pīr* and offer *Shrīrā* to him for the fulfilment of different vows made on various occasions. *Māniktala* in Calcutta will ever commemorate the sacred name (as the people believe) of this legendary saint by its name and the possession of the saint's relics (as it is supposed) and tomb. A great fair is annually held at Yādavpur, near the railway station of that name in honour of *Mānik Pīr*. People belonging to this cult attend the fair, offer fowls, cook them on the spot and eat.<sup>1</sup>

*Mānik Pīr* is believed to be a great Muslim saint whose spirit is still living on earth, to look after the welfare of his votaries. Just like Satya Pīr, he is believed to possess wonderful divine power by the exercise of which he can fulfil all the desires of a man. Milk, when it is first milched, and fruits when they first grow on the tree, are generally given as offerings on the supposed tombs of *Mānik Pīr*.

None knows who this *Mānik Pīr* was. Neither a Hindu can identify him with any god or godling, nor a Muslim can identify him with any saint. In spite of the absence of *Mānik Pīr*. his identification, both Hindus and Muslims are his votaries. A pure legendary and mythical character of this saint gives us a full justification to call him another idealized creation of both Hindu and Muslim minds.

Long and continuous contact of the Bengalis with Islām, specially with the Śūfīs, their practices and beliefs led ultimately

1. Bengal District Gazetteer—24 Parganahs. p. 78,

to the birth of a *Popular Islām* in Bengal. Islām being chiefly a missionary religion and its propagation in the East being mainly depended on the Sufī missionaries of Persia, Birth of a Bulḥārā, Samarqand Afghānistān etc., had to bring "Popular Islām" within its fold a large number of people already and what it affiliated to a culture and civilisation almost different means. from those of the Arabs, i. e., Semites. The amalgamation of these two sets of culture and civilisation, viz, Aryan (including non-Aryan) and Semitic produced many new things in the different spheres of our Bengali Muslim life. In the word of the puritanic Muslims, these new things are called 'Bid'ats', innovations and they began to make their appearance from the fifteenth century A. D. and to grow and thrive in a congenial environment and atmosphere up to the end of the Mughal rule in Bengal. From this time onward, Muslims of puritanic mind and reformative zeal belonging to one or other of the 'Wahhabi', 'Karāmat 'Ali', 'Fara'idī', and 'Muḥammadi' or 'Ahl-i-ḥadīth' movements had, time and again, tried to eradicate these evils from the fold of Islām but they could not achieve as much success, as they planned and conceived of. Their campaign directed against the polytheistic and other novelties ( *Shirk* and *Bid'at* ), so deeply rooted in Islām of Bengal made, however, the two communities, Hindus and Muslims of Bengal, culturally conscious. *Popular Islām* of Bengal indicates such Islām which includes all these novelties in full, along with original and modified beliefs and practices. This phase of the Islāmic contribution to Bengal is so very interesting that its discussion even in the briefest possible form requires a good many pages and hence we keep here its discussion reserved for a separate treatment in the following chapter of this book.

Influence of the Sufīs widened the spiritual outlook of the Bengalis, and aroused a mystic curiosity in their minds in the sixteenth and the subsequent centuries. The Sufīs were mostly popular with the masses who were, under the old social and religious affiliations, denied of all facilities to think for themselves over social religious and spiritual matters. The Bengalis are by nature a contemplative race, and the faculty of their contem•

plation was systematically suppressed under the grinding wheel of social and religious tyranny existing in Bengal during the Hindu regime and in the first few centuries of the Muslim rule. With the permanent establishment of Muslim rule in Bengal, when the Şufīs began to preach Islām as a religion of Expansion of the universal brotherhood, toleration and love for fellow spiritual and beings along with their specific theosophical speculational mystic outlook tions and mystic yearnings among the masses, their of the Bengalis way of life gradually appealed more and more to the common folk of Bengal. From the fifteenth century onward, people began to reflect independently on the nature of the Unseen and the Seen, and busied themselves in devising ways and means for the establishment of a relation between the two. The Şuffī activities in this country, partially supplied them with materials to bridge the gulf lying between the two. Mystic cravings of the masses were satisfied partly by the Şuffī teachings and partly by the mystic teachings of the Vaiṣṇabs. Their own contribution too were by no means small. Soon, out of the fusion of these three kinds of yearnings (viz. the Şuffī, Vaiṣṇab, and Indigenous) an independent kind of speculation grew up in Bengal with clear and unmistakable traits of stoical tendencies (*Udās bhāva*). The advocates of this mystic thought were all ordinary men who had neither any sort of education nor any kind of refinement. But they had a natural intelligence and culture. Outpourings of their heart show that what they really felt, was expressed in ordinary language. For want of proper training, though they were not always very accurate in their mystic speculations, yet the sincere and clear expression of their thought touched deeply the finer chord of human sentiment. Stoical tendencies of their mind have placed them above all sectarian, social or religious wrangles. They dreamt the dream of a "Natural Religion" (*Sahaj Dharma*) of men, which advocates liberality, brotherhood, universality and above all the natural right of human being to aspire after unravelling divine mystery. These people are sometimes known by different names, such as *Hazratī*, *Gobrāi*, *Pāgalnāthī*, *Khuṣī-Bisvāsī*, *Sāheb-Dhanī*, *Faqīr*, *Zikr* etc. But all these groups

of stoic men are generally indicated by the generic name "Bāul". It should be mentioned here that though the Bāuls are generally regarded as a sect of the Vaiṣṇavs, really they are not so. The following discussion on this subject will elucidate our point of view :

### BĀULS OF BENGAL §

In order to understand the nature of this sect, the derivation of the word "*Bāul*" is necessary. No agreement has yet been reached by the scholars with regard to any Derivations of definite derivation of the word. In view of the fact the word "*Bāul*," that certain tendencies in the Bāuls have appealed to them, scholars have derived the word from that root which suited their convictions. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss here at least some of those derivations which have a direct bearing on the nature and tendencies of the Bāuls.

According to some scholars, the word *Bāul* is the Bengali deviation of the Prākṛit word *Bāul* meaning "disordered", "inconsistent" and hence "mad". They like to say that those people who have no order or consistency in the process of their thought and who, being imbued with such unsystematic and confused ideas, compose songs and roam about like mad men, are called the *Bāuls*.

§ In compiling this account of the Bāuls of Bengal. I have used many materials from the following books and periodicals :

- (i) District Gazetteers of Bengal,
- (ii) *Bhāratiya Madhya Yuge Sādhanaṁ Dhārā*—Kṣiti Mohan Sen.
- (iii) *Bhāratvarsīya Upāsak Sampradāya*—Akṣaya Kumār Datta.
- (iv) *Nadiyā Kāhini*—Kumud Nath Mallik,
- (v) *Hārā Mani*—Md. Mansur, d-Dīn.
- (vi) *Bhārati* :—*Bhādra*, 1311 B. S. ( *Murshidhyā Gān* ).
- (vii) *Vicitrā* ;—*Jyaisṭha*, 1336 B. S.—(Bāul Gān).
- (viii) *Ibid* ;—Chitra, 1335, B. S.—(Bāgālā Palli Gane Bauddha Sadhana-o- Islam).
- (ix) *Pravāsi* :—Chaitra, 1337 B. S.—(Bāgālār Prānavastu).
- (x) *Bāul Dhansa Fatwā*—Edi. Riyadu-d-Dīn Ahmad. ( Rangpur ) Moham-madi Book Agency, Calcutta.

Some say that the word *Bāul* is the recurring deviation (such as, *Bhāt-īāt*, *Māch-fhāch*, *Kāpaḍ-chopaḍ* etc.) of the Bengali word '*Āul*' derived from the Sanskrit word '*Ākula*' meaning "bewildered", "perplexed", "wild" etc. In their opinion those who are wild, i. e., do not care for the civilised society and bewildered and crack-headed, are called the '*Bāuls*'.

Again, some agree with the derivation of "*Bāul*" from the Bengali word "*Āul*" as a recurring deviation like '*Āul-Bāul*'; but they say that the word '*Āul*' is the Bengali contraction of the Perso-Arabic word '*Āwliyā*' (plu. of *Walī* or a Muslim saint) meaning '*the saints*'. Accordingly, those people, who lead a saintly life, observe the formalities of Muslim saints in dress, practice and belief, are called the '*Bāuls*'.

In the opinion of some, '*Bāul*' comes from the Sanskrit word '*Vyākula*' meaning "distracted or perturbed in mind". The process of derivation is, as they say, *Vyākula* > *Vākula* > *Bāula* > *Baul*. Hence, those distracted people who sing mystic songs are generally called the "*Bāuls*". This derivation is philologically unsound. Because, Sanskrit conjoint '*Vya*' has often changed into 'Be' in Bengali, as in the word '*Vyāpār*+i > *Bepāri* or '*Vyabahār* > *Bebhār*.

However, I am of the opinion that '*Bāul*' comes from the Sanskrit word '*Vātula*' meaning "mad". According to Prākṛit grammar, two intervocal (here "*ā*" and "*u*") consonant (here "*r*") of a Sanskrit word is generally dropped, and here in the word "*Vātula*", this rule is in full operation. As the '*Bāuls*' appeared to be mad men, they were called so in the past for their apparent madness.

It is to be noted here that all of these derivations reveal one or other of the inner tendencies or outer formalities of the *Bāuls* of Bengal. From this point of view, if we judge these derivations we are obliged to admit that each one of them has its utility.

*Bāuls* of Bengal form a great community, and people affiliated to it are found in almost all the districts of Bengal in one or other name; but no community in Bengal is so disunited as



this. In Northern, Southern and Western part of Eastern Bengal, people of this community are found in abundance. But none knows anything definite about the founder of this community. Different groups of Bāuls hold different opinions with regard to the originator of their community. Earliest *Gurus* or *Faqīrs* as they are sometimes called, claim the honour of Bāuls and their being the founders. Among these *Gurus* or *Faqīrs* origin. there are both Hindus and Muslims. Hindu preceptors are generally called *Gurus* and Muslim ones are known as *Faqīrs*. Among the *Gurus*, the names of Harī Guru, Banachārī, Sevā Kamalinī, Akhil Chāṇḍ, Āul Chāṇḍ etc., are prominent, and among the *Faqīrs*, the names of Hazrat, Gobrā, Pāgal Nāth, Khuṣī Biswās, Sāheb Dhanī, Lālan etc., are noteworthy. All these *Gurus* or *Faqīrs* were the inhabitants of the District of Nadiyā and the life-time of none can be traced up to a time earlier than the sixteenth century A.D. In these circumstances, we are inclined to hold the view that Bāul community was not founded by one man; it was a community that gradually sprang up out of the incorporation of a good number of men quite indifferent to the world, and that the district of Nadiyā was the place of its origin. Nadiyā was a famous cultural centre of Bengal from the earliest time up to the time of Chaitanya Deva, and it is quite natural that such an ancient cultural centre would produce a class of mystic like the 'Bāuls' in the sixteenth century A.D.—a century pregnant with mystic ideas of the Śūfis and Vaiṣṇabs.

Though the earliest possible time suggested here for the growth of Bāul mysticism in Bengal is the sixteenth century, yet it could not establish itself before the advent History of the of the seventeenth century. During this time, it Bāul mysticism found favour among the low class Hindus and in Bengal. illiterate Muslims of Northern Bengal. The cause of establishment of Bāul mysticism in Northern Bengal seems to be the revival of Brahmanic religion among the Vaiṣṇabs in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Northern Bengal was already a prominent Vaiṣṇab centre and when Brahmanic

religion triumphed over the mysticism of Chaitanya Deva, the newly recruited Vaiṣṇabs of Northern Bengal surely preferred the mysticism of the Bāuls to the Brahmanic code of law.

Eighteenth century is the time when Baul mysticism triumphed over all other mystic creeds existing in Bengal. During this period, Bengal was over-flooded with the mystic ideas and songs of the Bāuls. Almost all of the old Bāul *Gurus* or *Faqīrs* of whom we know something definite, belong to this period. Each of them had a group of followers, who used to sing the mystic songs composed by their masters.

Prominent "*Ākhḍās*" (a Bāul establishment where these people used to meet) were soon established by the *Gurus* or *Faqīrs* in the different parts and localities of Bengal. From these "*Ākhḍās*" Bāul creed began to spread rapidly through the agency of the *Gurus* and their itinerant followers.

By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, expansion of the Bāul creed was complete. In the meantime, corruptions, immorality, odd and wild thought, quaint and sensual ideas and vices of many other kinds had crept into the creed of the Bāuls in large number. Cause of this was nothing but the expansion of the creed among the uncultured low-class masses. By the middle of the century various kinds of corruptions among the Bāuls rose at their zenith. Fastidious people began to find fault with the Bāul way of life and they could no more tolerate them. Just at this time, two reformatory movements were vigorously started amongst the Musalmans of Bengal by two religious leaders, viz., Dudhu Miyān, the son of Hājī Shari'atullāh of Farīdpūr, and Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī (d. 1873) of Jaunpūr. These two reformatory movements are known as *Farā'idī* and *Ṭarīqah-i-Muḥammadī*. The whole might of the movements were directed against, superstitions, polytheism, and thousand other corrupt beliefs and practices of the Muslims of Bengal. Dudhu Miyān's hold on Eastern Bengal was unparallel, while Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī's hold on Northern Bengal was not a whit less. Position of the Bāuls, especially those under Muslim garb, became very precarious by the activities of *Farā'idī* and *Muḥammadī* movements. Thus

being hard-pressed from the north as well as from the south, the activities of the Bāuls were considerably curbed and gradually they began to dwindle in number. The reformatory campaign, led against the Muslim Bāuls, is still in force to some extent; only a decade ago, ( 1918 or thereabout ) a religious decree (*fatwā*) was passed by the *Mawlānās* of Bengal against the Bāuls and it was published by a religious enthusiast of Northern Bengal.

There are two classes of the Bāuls, viz. *Udāsīn* or those who are quite stoic and indifferent to the world, and *Grihī* or those who are more worldly than stoic. *Udāsīn* Bāuls lead a celibate life and try to emancipate them from the bondages of the world both in theory and practice. They abhor everything worldly and like everything spiritual. Unfolding the mystery of creation is their creed and to compose and sing mystical songs are the practices of their devotional life. On the other hand, *Grihī* Bāuls are either married or addicted to females with a passionate attachment which they call *Prakṛitī Sādhana*. Theoretically they advocate the principles of *Udāsīn* Bāuls, but practically they lead the life of an ordinary husbandman. They

cultivate land, build houses, marry and have children and earn livelihood by manual labour, but do not follow any code of religious ethics. Again, these two classes of Bāuls are divided into many groups, each of which owes allegiance to one or other of the Hindu or Muslim *Guru* or *Faqīr*. In fact, these groups sprang up around leaders who became famous for their piety and zeal. We have already mentioned that Bāul is not a sect in the sense of the Vaiṣṇab sects already noted. It is the generic name of a community formed out of the incorporation of individual mystics who cared for no sect, society or religion. Affiliation of the Āuls, Sāṅīs, Neḍās, Darveshīs and similar other sects to the mysticism of the Bāuls was possible, because Bāul community was an incorporation of individual mystics. In this way *Ḥazratīs*, *Gobrāīs*, *Pāgal Nathīs*, *Khuṣī Biswāsīs*, *Faqīrs*, *Dhikrs* and others became identical in the course of a short time with either *Udāsīn* or *Grihī* Bāuls.

*Udāsīn* Bāuls are really mystics ; they mostly differ in practices and manners with their fellow *Grihī* Bāuls, many of whom are generally incarnation of corruption, vice and morbid sexuality. Henceforward, when we shall speak of the Bāuls, we do not mean the *Grihī* and corrupted Bāuls. The life of a Bāul is a true life of a saint in the eastern sense of the term. He is not only careless about the society and religion, is equally careless about his dress also. He is a mendicant, but beggary is not his profession. He roams about with his bag where he keeps all his necessities and with an *Ektārā* or *Dotārā* ( a kind of one or two-stringed lute ) singing merrily his favourite mystic song. People come forward to see and hear him in his ecstatic mood and offer him alms. Some of the Bāuls have their *Ākḥḍās* where they sometimes live and pass their nights, but most of them are homeless itinerant mendicants.

Dress and Their dress shows an amalgamation of dress of a *Yogī* manners of the and a *Faqīr*. They put on an *Āḷḥellā* ( a long Bāuls. cloak falling up to the knee ) made of innumerable patches of old cloth, on the body, a big garland of crystals, corals, lotus-seeds and *Rudrākṣa* ( a tree, from the berries of which Hindus make beads of rosaries, *Elcocarpus ganitrus* ) round the neck, and a *Tilak* ( a spot of vermilion ) on the fore-head. When they walk they always carry a many-curved stick and a *Kistī* ( a long and peculiar tray made of wood ) in their two hands. They never shave their beards and moustaches, cut their hairs and use comb or oil. Hence their beards and moustaches are long and flowing and the hair of their head becomes matted. They neither maintain any regularity in washing their bodies nor in taking food. If anything is asked, they play on their *Ektārā* or *Dotārā* to answer the question extempore by a song.

The Bāuls are famous in Bengal for their mystic songs, just as the Vaiṣṇabs are celebrated for their lyrical literature ( *Padāvali sāhitya* ). These two kinds of songs, viz. the songs of the Bāuls and of the Vaiṣṇabs, reveal two kinds of peculiar traits and trends of Bengali heart. The former gives us a real picture of the mystic nature, and reflective tendencies of

a Bengali heart, while the latter furnishes us with ample materials to recognize the loving heart of a Bengali. In order to understand these traits, an intensive and extensive study of the Bāul and Vaiṣṇab songs is absolutely necessary. A Bengali is a lover and a mystic at the same time. Lyrical literature of the Vaiṣṇabs shows the triumph of love over mysticism, while the Bāul songs declare the victory of mysticism over love. In both the literatures love and mysticism exist side by side, but

not with proportionate ratio. Each of the songs of Different Bāul a Bāul is a vivid picture of the mystic Bengali songs. mind. No song or literature of Bengal so nakedly

represents the mystic aspect of the Bengalis as these Bāul songs do. As the mode of living, social environments and natural backgrounds are different in different parts of Bengal, the Bāul songs, which drew nourishment from these, are different in execution and description. We can, therefore, clearly mark that in most of the Bāul songs of Eastern Bengal where tornedoes and rivers bring untold miseries to the people, the imagery of a long dangerous and troublesome river trip by boat is adopted as a vehicle of expressing mystic thoughts. The case is quite different with the Bāul songs of other parts of Bengal. This is why Bāul songs are differently known in different places, such as in Eastern Bengal, they are called *Murṣhiddya Gān*; in Northern Bengal they are known as *Dehatattva Gān*; in Western Bengal they are described as *Bāul Gān*. Excepting the difference in names and imageries, there is no difference whatsoever in the thought underlying them all. The same and one stream of thought has, in all these songs, been directed through different channels to unfold the mystery of creation and to unite with that mysterious Being who is hidden behind the creation. In spite of this fundamental unity in all, they appear to be different, because the mediums of expression are different. But in another respect, they may optionally be regarded different from one another, and that is the aspect of influence of other creeds on the Bāuls. In *Murṣhiddya Gāns* influence of the Śufis predominates, while in *Bāul Gāns* influence of the Vaiṣṇabs

prevails. *Dehatattva Gāns* are equally replete with the influence of Yoga and the practices of Śūfism. Whatever may be the case, these songs are fully mystical in nature and stoical in character.

However, it is admitted by all that Bāul mysticism is replete with Vaiṣṇab influence, but unfortunately no body has as yet tried elaborately to trace the influence of the Śūfis on this peculiar mysticism of Bengal. No body can deny

Main influences the Vaiṣṇab influence on the Bāuls and one should in the Baul not do so. At the same time, we should note songs. that influence of the Śūfis was one of the prime

constituent factors of the Bāul mysticism. Of course this influence did not always produce a healthy effect on the minds of the Bāuls, but it wrought wonders in the intellectual realm of a class of untutored and uncultured men and that is what is to be particularly marked here. The time and environment in which Bāul mysticism flourished and its first advocates by whom it spread among the masses, warrant us to hold that influence of Islām in general and of Śūfism in particular was one of the leading factors that led to the growth of Bāul mysticism in Bengal. Let us now proceed to examine the influence of the Śūfis on the mysticism of the Bāuls and determine the extent of this influence.

We have already laid stress on the fact that Vaiṣṇabism has left a permanent mark on the Bāul mysticism ; apart from that, the Śūfī influence on the Bāul does not seem to be of lesser magnitude. It is not out of place to note here that the Śūfī and Vaiṣṇab mysticisms have been so awfully mingled together in the Bāul mysticism that it is now well-nigh difficult to make the two separate from each other unless at least a general synthesis is made with regard to the fundamental mystic creeds of the Bāuls. Vaiṣṇab mysticism centres round Kṛiṣṇa, the god of love only, while Bāul mysticism grows round the realisation of One, whom the Bāuls cannot definitely name. This is why they differently call the Unnamed One at different times. Among the favourite terms, they use for the Unnamed Being, *Man manurā* or the Ideal Man residing in mind, *Achin*

*pāḥi* or the Unknown Bird, *Aleḥ* or *Alek Sāñi*<sup>1</sup>. or the Unknown or Unknown Lord, *Daradī Sāñi* or the Sympathetic Lord, etc. etc. are well known. Whatever phraseology they may use, they use it to mean that Unnamed Being. Their idea about this Unnamed Being is embodied in a nutshell in the following song :

“In the cosmogony of the world, the Unknown exists,  
In the Unknown, the *Sāñi* ( meaning Lord ) resides,  
The Unknown communicates and the Unknown speaks.  
On the Unknown Tree flowers bloom to embalm the world  
with odour ;  
Roots of this Tree are in the Unknown and leaves grow  
on it without a branch.  
Sanātan ( the mystic poet ) always says,—the Unknown is  
in the love of man  
O Bāul ! bewildered art thou ; thou wilt not be able to  
go there ?”

This as well as many other similar songs clearly show, how the Bāuls conceive of the Unnamed Being : they believe that the Unnamed Being is unknown but not unknowable ; He is a mystery, but that mystery is not unravelling. A conviction in the knowledge of the Unknown and in the solution of that

(1) The Baul phrase “*Āleḥ Sāñi*” or *Ālek Sāñi*” appears to be the deviation of “*Alakṣya Svāmi*” meaning the Unknown Lord. The process of deviation must be like this :-

(i) *Alakṣya* > *Alakḥa* > *Alākha* > *Ālakha* > *Āleḥ* ( see next page )

(2) “আলেখ দুনিয়ার বীজে,                      আলেখে সাঁই বিরাজে,  
আলেখে খবর নিচ্ছে,                      আলেকে কল্প কথা।  
আলেখ-গাছে ফুল ফুটেছে,                      যার সৌরভে জগৎ মেতেছে ;  
আলেখে হয় গাছের গোড়া,                      ডাল ছাড়া তার আছে পাতা।  
আলেখ মানুষের রসে,                      সনাতন সদা ভাবে,  
বাউলে তোর লাগল দিশে                      যেতে নারবি সেথা।”

mystery, comes to them, just as it comes to a Śufī from a constant mysterious communication of the Unknown with their "self". The Bāuls fully realize this communion, but they hardly understand its nature and the Communicator. So they sing in a fit of amazement :

"In the cage, how that Unknown Bird comes and goes !  
Would that I could catch hold of it, surely I would have  
tied the chain of my mind to its feet"<sup>1</sup>.

Mysticism of the Bāuls consists in the solution of this mystery and in the full realisation of that mysterious Being, to whom they do not like to give a definite name. The process they have adopted to realise is exactly similar to that chosen by the Śufīs. Just like the Śufīs, they try to realise the mysterious Being through love, which they call "*maner āgun*" or the fire of the mind. This fire of love constantly burns them in such a manner as to make them mad. This state of a Bāul mind can be excellently represented by the following song :

"In the hope of Thy arrival, O my sympathetic *Sāñi* !  
how long shall I be waiting?  
I wander about from land to land, - where shall I go now?  
Him, for whom I have turned out insane, where shall I meet?  
Fire of my heart doubly burns, - how shall I extinguish it?  
It does not extinguish even when water is poured on ;—  
how long shall I be burning.  
In the hope of Thy arrival, O my sympathetic Lord ! how  
long shall I be waiting ?<sup>2</sup>

(ii) *Svami* > *Samī* < *Sāñi*.

Note :-I consulted two or three Muslim Bāuls of 24-Parganahs known as *Faqīrs* for the interpretation of the term *Ālek*. They do not know anything definite about the meaning of the term. They say that it means "*Aligh*". But so far as I remember, a Muslim Bāul of Farīdpur or Pabna told me that *Ālek* is only a disguised form of *Alif*, the first letter of Arabic language and it means "*Allah*"—a word which begins with that letter *Alif*. This interpretation no doubt shows the recent reformatory influence of the Muslims on the Muslim Bāuls

- (1) "খাচার ভিতর অচিন পাখি কেমনে আসে যায় !  
থরতে পারলে মনোবেড়ি দিতাম তাহার পায় !!"
- (2) "আসায় আশে সাঁই দরদী আর কতদিন র'ব ?  
দেশ বিদেশে ঘুরিয়া বেড়াই, আর বা কোথা যা'ব ?



This mental fire i.e. love is not the love of a Vaiṣṇab in the sense that it does not require any humanly idealised being Rādhā for vehicle of its expression. It is a fire ( burning sensation ) just as Ṣūfīs' one is '*Khamr*' or '*Bādah*' meaning wine. ( i.e., intoxicating sensation ) Both fire and wine have sensational effects on the human body and mind. Hence the similarity. Vaiṣṇab love is thoroughly effeminate in execution; it is the longing of an entirely feminine heart for a union with the Great Lover Kṛiṣṇa. But the Bāul and Ṣūfī love is the craving of a man's heart sometimes in the guise of a woman, but often with manly vigour and virility.

With such love the Bāuls proceed along the path of realisation. The Unknown Being is in regular communion with them through the medium of soul ( *mana* ), but they cannot practically realise Him and He remains a mystery. Proceeding towards the solution of this mystery, the Bāuls turn their attention exactly like the Ṣūfīs and the Vedantists to the realisation of their Self. In the course of discussion on the nature and character of their mysticism, the Bāuls say—"What is not found in the physique of a man, is not found in the universe" ( *Jāhā nāi bhānde tāhā nāi Brahmānde* ). This is nothing but an echo of the Indian Ṣūfī dictum of '*Qurbat*' saturated with the Vedanta ideas already discussed. In this way, the Bāuls represent the Ṣūfīs in their belief that man is a microcosm which contains every mystery of creation in one or other way. They say that the mysterious Being does not reside anywhere else except in the physique of man. Though he is a mystery, He speaks out when properly called :

"Man walks and moves in the air, and lives on it  
O, the Golden Man is in the physique—He responds  
when rightly called."<sup>1</sup>

হার জন্ত হয়েছি পাগল, তারে কোথায় পা'ব ?  
মনের আগুন হিণ্ডন অলে তারে কি দিয়ে নিবা'ব ?  
জল দিলে না নিভে আগুন, আর কত জলিব ?  
আসার আশে সাঁই দরদী আর কত দিন র'ব ?"

- (1) "মানুষ হাওয়ার চলে, হাওয়ার ফিরে, হাওয়ার সনে রয় ;  
দেহের মাঝে আছেরে সোনার মানুষ ডাকলে কথা কয়।"

But the Bāuls cannot call the Golden Man properly and He does not speak and thus remains a life-long mystery to them. This mystery is too deep to penetrate and too difficult to be unravelled, because there is no royal road to it. This idea, the Bāuls express in the following terms :

“Fathomless ocean lies within thee :

You could not dive deep into it.

It knows no shore, no border or bound,

And obeys no sacrosanctity or ritualism”.<sup>1</sup>

Because a man is a microcosm and he is a seat of the mysterious Golden Man, he too appears to the Bāuls to be a mystery. All *dehatattva* songs of the Bāuls are the effusions of Bāul mind which flowed from the fountain of trial to the solution of the mystery of human creation. Here is a typical *dehatattva* song where the man has been characterised as *Rasik Neye* or the jovial boatman, his body as a boat, his ten physical organs (*daśadvāra*), such as two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth, anus, sex organ and mind or the imaginary opening in the head) as crews and his six enemies (such as lust, anger, avarice, ignorance, pride and envy) as men for towing the boat :

“Who is he plying boat over the dry land ?- Who is that  
jovial boatman ?

Oarsmen and helmsmen, ten in all, are under him ;

He employs six others to tow the boat ;

Knowable was he but you cared not to know :

Merrily he goes on rowing and

All the devoted are singing boatmen’s song ;

Who is that jovial boatman ?

The boat is laden with precious things ;

- (1) “আছে ভোরই ভিতর অতল সাগর,  
তার পাইলি না মরম ।  
তার নাই কুল কিনারা শাস্ত্র ধারা  
নিয়ম কি করম ।”

Amidst them sits the dealer in love,  
with five watchers around.

Knowable was he, but you cared not to know:<sup>1</sup>

For the solution of all these mysteries, the Bāuls always take the help of a *Murshid* or *Guru*. In this respect they follow the course adopted by the Sufis as well as the Vaiṣṇabs. But the course of the Bāuls seems to be more similar to the Sufis than that of the Vaiṣṇabs. We do not know, whether the Vaiṣṇabs admit of the invisible character of their *Gurus* through some belief analogous to Sufi hierarchy, or whether they recognize any such progressive stage of mind as that of *Fanā-fi-sh-Shaykh*, or annihilation or absorption in the thought of *Pir*. In many songs of the Bāuls, the identification of *Murshid* or *Guru* with God (*i.e.* mysterious Being) and the invocation of his spirit at the time of spiritual distress, clearly show that their devotion to *Murshid* is almost similar to the devotion of a Sufi to his "*Pir*, and that they believe in the invisibility of their *Guru* having the capacity for appearing to his disciple at his will. The following song excellently illustrate the sentiment of a Bāul, who is eagerly waiting for giving him relief by the *Murshid*:

"My boat is helplessly tossing about producing jingling  
sound by irregular and violent wind;  
O *Murshid*! I eagerly wait for thee.

(1) "ওকে ডাকায় তরী যায় বেয়ে, কোন রসিক নেয়ে ?

আছে দাঁড়ী মাঝি দশ জনা,

ছয়জন তার গুণ টানা,

সে কে তা জেনেও জানিলে না।

আনন্দেতে যাচ্ছে বেয়ে,

যত অনুরাগী সারি গেয়ে,

এ কোন রসিক নেয়ে ?

আছে ডিঙ্গাভরা বস্ত্রধন,

বইসে প্রেমের মহাজন,

তার চৌকি পঞ্চজনা ;

সে কে তা জেনেও জানিলে না!"

Beware ! the cloud appears on the western horizon and  
the thunder roars ;  
The rope of my helm has been torn : alas, the boat  
is dangerously eddying !

O *Murshid* ! I eagerly wait for thee.

The waves are rolling over the boat from its prow to the  
stern.

Alas ! the best gem of mine is floating down the stream :

O *Murshid* : I eagerly wait for thee". (x)

In this way, in the hours of spiritual need, the Muslim Bāuls passionately invoke the spirit of *Murshid* to save them from the spiritual degradation. A Hindu Bāul invokes the spirit of his *Guru* on such an occasion. But both Hindu and Muslim Bāuls believe that the relation between a *Guru* or *Murshid* with his disciple is inalienable even after death, and none but a *Guru* or a *Murshid* will be able to render any help to his disciples in the life after death. In this belief, there is a good share of crude Muslim belief in a "*Pir*". '*Fanā-fīsh-Shaykh*' idea of the Şūfis gave birth in later times to a real worship of *Murshid* and a belief in the unfailing assistance of '*Pir*' or *Murshid* in the life after death. In the following song of a Hindu Bāul, how passionately the worship of *Guru* and the belief in his unfailing assistance in the life after death, have been invoked :

"Days are gone ; display no more the vanities of life ;  
O my mad mind ! why do you not worship the *Guru*.

(x) "উনুর ঝনুর বাজে নাও আমার

নিহাইল্যা বাতাসেরে !

মুর্শীদ্ রইলাম তোর আশে ।

পশ্চিমে সাজিল মেঘেরে, দ্যাওয়ার দিলরে ডাক,

আমার—ছিঁড়িল হাইলের পানস, নৌকায় খাইল পাক রে !

মুর্শীদ্ রইলাম তোর আশে ।

আগা বাইল্যা উঠে ঢেউরে পাছা বাইল্যা যায়,

আমার—হিরালাল মানিকের বাড়ী, সোতে ভাইল্যা যায় রে !

মুর্শীদ্ রইলাম তোর আশে ।"

Hark, hark, O ignorant mind ! worship the lucky feet of *Guru*,  
 Who is there thy near and dear one save the *Guru* ?  
 How plessant and pleasing is to equip a boat  
 and to equip it for returning to the native land :

O my mad mind ! why do you not worship the *Guru*.  
 The Lord of Death will come, tie tight your feet with hand,  
 and give you proper punishment ;  
 No friend will be there to help you at that time.

O my mad mind ! why do you not worship the *Guru*".(xx)

From the above song, another important trait of Bāul mysticism can easily be detected and that is the pessimistic attitude of the Bāuls towards this world and mundane life. The Bāuls fully agree with the Sūfīs as well as ancient Hindu mystics on the point that this world is an illusion (*Māyā*) and that this mundane life is but an empty dream which is full of false hopes and unreal enjoyments. So the objective experiences of this world and life are deemed to be sad and dreadful unrealities to be always shunned by all. In theory as well as in practice, the Bāuls remain faithful to their conviction, and loyal to their stoic principle.

Another aspect - and this is the most conspicuous aspect for which the Bāuls are called *Bāul* or mad, - is the aspect of the Bāuls' independence. Independence of the Bāuls covers a

(xx) "দিন গেল আর মিছা গরব কর না,

মন পাগল রে গুরু ভজ না !

শুনরে অজ্ঞান মন ! ভজ গুরুর প্রীচরণ,

গুরু বিনা কে আছে আপন ?

কিবা রজ সুখরে, তরী সাজাইয়া রে,

তরী সাজাইয়া দেশে চল না—

মন পাগলরে গুরু ভজ না !

আসিয়া যমেরি দূতে, বাঁধবে তোরে পায়ে হাতে,

উচিত মত শাস্তি করবে গো—

সেই সময় রাখিবার বাস্তব নাই রে ;

মন পাগল রে গুরু ভজ না !"

wide field as it affects them equally in thought as well as in action. If the Bāuls ever follow any kind of creed, it is the only creed of emancipation from thralldom of all descriptions. In their endeavour to follow it, they fairly succeed and hence they are called *Bāul* or mad by those who do not belong to their circle. In their own words, the real nature of their independence, which is generally regarded as madness, may be defined in the following typical song :

“This is why I became a Bāul—

No man, no scripture, and no sectarianism can have a  
claim on me now ,  
No master I obey, no order I carry out, no law I abidely and  
no rite I follow on ;  
With delight of my own I roam about, and my own ideas I  
always love ;

A union in the domain of love never knows any separation

This makes me dance and sing with all”. (x)

A Bāul is a mystic who chalks out his own line of action, and follows his own path of mental illumination. This is why Bāul mysticism is more or less individualistic in nature, just like the mysticism of the Şūfis. Here the difference between a Bāul mystic and a Şūfī mystic is this that a Bāul is an out-and-out rebel and his creed too possesses a nature of revolt, while a Şūfī ( be he a Persian or Indian ) outwardly professes the creed of Islām but does not do so in practice and hence his creed too is not as bold and as robust as that of the Bāuls. Both Şūfī and Bāul mysticisms are equally saturated with personal notes and are equally full of personal desire, cravings, hopes and fears, but with regard to the ascertainment of their ultimate goal, perhaps the Bāuls are far more uncertain than the Şūfis.

(x) “ভাই ত বাউল হৈনু ভাই,—

লোকের, বেদের, ভেদ, বিভেদের আর ত দাবী দাওয়া নাই ;

নাই হাকিম, লকুম, নিয়ম, রীতি ;

নিজ্ঞানন্দে চলি,—সদাই আত্মভাব প্রীতি ;

প্রেম যোগেতে নাইরে বিরোগ,

সবার সাথে নাচি গাই।”

The delight which a Bāul thrills with, and the ideas which he conceives of are in many respects different from the other mystics of the world, and the real causes of this difference are the influence of Bengal, her climate and physical features and the cultural outlook of her people. After all, his is the creed of independence, - an independence in thought, ideas and rites alike. Development of his mystic mind does not require any definite mechanical method or process for attainment of its perfection. His adoption of music as the only method of devotional exercise might have a faint echo of the *Ṣūfī Sama* or it may grow under the influence of Indian method of devotion accompanied with music, but his acceptance of the principle that the natural tendencies of human mind should not, in any way, be curbed or restrained, is certainly a new departure from the existing mystic creeds of the world. When any restraint is inflicted on him, he breaks through it and exclaims thus :

“O Guru ! I forbid thee,

O Guru ! I forbid thee,—

Tie not an iron chain with my golden feet,

I live amidst the market of this world ;—

Ah me ! - the six thieves will steal, ( but ) I shall be caught  
( in their stead ) ,

Ah me ! - the six thieves will be released ( in the long run ),  
But I shall rot in jail ( for ever ) :

O Guru ! tie not an iron chain with my golden feet”.(1)

Although a Bāul tries to unfetter his mind in this way, he only partially succeeds in his attempts. No doubt, he chalks

(1) “গুরু ! তোমারে করি মানা,

গুরু ! তোমারে করি মানা,—

সোনার পায়ে বেড়ি দিও না ।

আমি আছি ভবের বাজারে ;—

ওরে—ছ’জন চোরা করবে গো চুরি, বাধবে, আমারে ;

ওরে—ছ’জন চোরা খালাস পাইব,

আমি রইব জেলখানা ;

গুরু ! সোনার পায়ে বেড়ি দিও না ।”

out his own path to mystic development of his mind, no doubt, his independence is the conspicuously marked feature of his mystic life, yet when he slowly progresses towards the ultimate goal of his union with the Unnamed Being, he occasionally strides along the beaten track of the ṢŪfīs denouncing the stereotyped forms of Hindu and Muslim worships and depreciating the value of places where these worships are conducted. Those who are fully acquainted with the ṢŪfī literature of India as well as of Persia, must have marked that some of the ṢŪfī poets have wielded their facile pens to this direction at the time of flight of their mystic imagination. The Bāul denunciation of the places pilgrimage and public worship, and the stereotyped forms of religious services, obligations and ceremonies, is exactly parallel to the ṢŪfī denunciation of those things. Occurrence of such parallel ideas suggests in our mind the influence of the ṢŪfīs on the Bāuls of Bengal. The following Bāul song can fitly be compared with any ṢŪfī *ghazal* of this nature :

“My mind likes not to make pilgrimage to Mecca or Medina;  
My Friend exists - here He is,  
And I am always with Him ;  
I would have become mad, and lived far away from Him,  
O, had I not known Him.  
Temple is not meant for me to worship and mosque to pray.  
Neither do I give offerings to gods, nor I observe the  
festival of Bakrid.  
Little by little I acquire the virtue of pilgrimage to Mecca  
and Kāṣṭī.  
Every moment I realize the Lucky Day’.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) “মোর ষাইতে তো চায় না রে মন মক্কা-মদিনা ;

এই যে—বন্ধু আমার আছে,

আমি—রইরে তারি কাছে;

আমি পাগল হইতাম দূরে রইতাম,

তারে চিনতামরে যদি না।

আমার নাই মন্দির কি মসজিদ

পূজা কি বক্রিদ,

তিলে তিলে মোর মক্কা-কাশী,

পলে পলে স্মদিনা।”



In the song noted above, another thing should be marked and that is the air of universality and liberalism that the song breathes from behind the denunciation of religions and their stereotyped forms of worship. Sūfī literature of India and Persia is a brilliant record of Sūfī preaching of universality and liberalism. Some of the Sūfīs, who are known in India as the '*Be-Shara*' darvishes (i.e. those darvishes who do not follow the canonical laws of Islām), were universality and liberalism incarnate. So far as the universal and liberal ideas of the Bāuls are concerned, they undoubtedly followed the Sūfīs especially those who are *Be-Shara*'. There is absolutely no difference between the Sūfī universality and the Bāul liberalism. Exactly like the Sūfī universality, the Bāul liberalism centres round the freedom from the bondages of religions and religious institutions. The following Bāul song is an excellent example to serve the purpose of illustration :—

“Way to Thee has been blocked by temples and mosques.  
Thy call I hear O Sānī : but I cannot proceed to Thee  
As Guru and Murshid stop me.  
Thy door is fastened with many locks, viz., Qurān,  
Purāṇ, Tasbīḥ, and Mālā ;  
The path of initiation into Vaiṣṇab<sup>1</sup> faith is indeed the  
chief trouble.  
Afflicted as he is, Madan dies crying.<sup>2</sup>

(1) The term *Bhekh path*, which is in the original text, should be translated as that given above. *Bhekh* or *Bhek* is a technical term used by the Vaiṣṇabs for their initiation ceremony. Hence the Vaiṣṇab phrase “*Bhekh laoyā*” means “to assume the garb of a Vaiṣṇab mendicant” or “to be initiated into Vaiṣṇab faith”.

(2) “তোমার পথ চাইক্যাছে মন্দিরে মস্জিদে ।  
তোমার ডাক শুনে সঁাই চলতে না পাই  
কুইখা দাঁড়ায় গুরুতে মুরশীদে ॥  
তোর দুয়ারে নানান তালা,—কোরান, পুরান, তস্‌বি, মালা ;  
ভেক পথই তো প্রধান জালা,  
কাইল্যা মদন মরে খেদে ॥”

We have already observed in connection with the theoretical aspect of the Sūfīs that the theory of '*Ḥulūl*' or divine infusion was largely accepted as a Sūfī dictum of mystic creed by a class of Indian Darvishes saturated with the idea of Hindu pantheism. Echoes of this blasphemous theory have been heard from time to time from the mouths of some of the Indian Sūfīs. Probably through their agency, this theory gained some notorious popularity among the Muslims of Bengal and again through them, the Bāuls were affected. The quintessence of this theory is the identification of the human self with the divine self. The Sūfī theory of '*Anā-'l-ḥaqq*' or 'I am the Truth' is the echo of '*Ḥulūl*'. In Bengal, we can clearly trace the influence of '*Ḥulūl*' on some of the Bāul songs, one of which is as follows :—

"After due deliberation, I see '*all is I*'.  
I am He ! O, I am He :<sup>1</sup>  
Ah me ! people speak ill of me.  
From 'I', Allāh and His apostle come, and  
everything comes from 'I' ;  
From 'I', firmanent and earth come, and  
forgetfulness comes from 'I' ;  
Sure shall I be killed, if my countrymen  
take my words as they are ;  
Remember ! whoever knows his self knows God.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) The original Bengali phrase "*Sonā māmī*" which I have translated as "I am He", seems to be a deviated form of the Sanskrit phrase "*Soham asmi*" meaning "I am He".

- (2) "বিচার করিয়া দেখি সকলই আমি।  
সোনা মামী ! সোনা মামী গো !  
আমার করিলরে বদনামী ॥  
আমি হৈতে আল্লা রসুল, আমি হৈতে কুল,  
আমি হৈতে আসমান, জমিন, আমি হৈতে ভুল।  
মরব মরব দেশের লোকে মোর কথা যদি লয় ;  
আপন চিনিলে দেখে খোদা চিনা হয় ॥"

Such is the extent and general character of Sūfī influence on the mysticism of the Bāuls. The whole Bāul literature, consisting mostly of beautiful mystic songs, is thoroughly saturated with ideas and thoughts which easily penetrate a Bengali heart. Bengal may forget many writers of modern fame, but she will never forget the songs of a real Baul. The immortal name of Lālan Shāh of Kushtia district may be cited in this connection. His influence on Rabindranath Tagore is an admitted fact. The people of Bengal will never forget him.

## Chapter XII

### GROWTH OF 'POPULAR ISLAM' IN BENGAL

It is needless to mention here that the austere and systematically codified religion of the Semitic Arabs had undergone a considerable change in Aryan Persia, Hindu India, non-Aryan Bengal and other countries where it entered and stayed to live and flourish amidst different races of men. The two Islāmic theological words - '*Bid'at*' (religious innovation) and '*Shirk*' (polytheistic and idolatrous beliefs and practices)-the history of which can be clearly traced even up to the ninth century A. D., clearly indicate that religious innovations and beliefs and practices which are against the spirit of the strict monotheism of Islām had been slowly and silently creeping in into the very core of Islām from the time of its expansion abroad i. e. outside Arabia.

Every missionary religion, like Islām, is bound to change its colour and creed according to the cultural condition of a country where it is established. What is meant by "Popular Islam"? Christianity has done so profoundly and so has done

Buddhism. Even Hinduism though not a missionary religion, underwent a lot of changes, when it spread over the lands of Greater India ( i.e. Jāvā, Sumātrā, Siam etc ). Islām also has changed its colour, if not its formal official creed, in the various countries and climes; Islām of Maghrib in Sudan has its own changes, as has Islam of Mashriq in Persia, Jāvā and Mālaya. But nowhere it was so amazingly changed with respect to some special aspects, as it did in India as well as in Bengal. The changes, that took place in India and Bengal, are also known by the two names of *Bid'at* and *Shirk* given by the orthodox Muslims. The phrase '*Popular Islām*' indicates all the changes that have taken place in Islām from the earliest times up to the present. We shall now try to depict a picture of '*Popular Islām*' in Bengal in some detail.

The most potent causes that led to the growth of '*Popular Islām*' in Bengal are the following :

(a) Conventional conversion : The proselytising propaganda of the Northern Indian as well as Bengali Sūfīs was chiefly responsible for the formal and conventional conversion of the people of Bengal. Such conversions were generally incomplete in nature, revealing an outward acknowledgment of the creed. The converts retained many of their religious, social, and cultural beliefs, practices, superstitions, and old professions during their apostatic life. These things were afterwards considered as *Bid'ats* and *Shirks*. No significant attempt had been made to uproot these, until after the usherment of the nineteenth century. In the meantime, they became part and parcel of Islām in Bengal.

(b) Influence of Hindu environment : when Islām spread in Bengal, it had to live in a regular Hindu environment. The new Muslims (and in some cases foreign settlers too) had to live amidst their Hindu relatives and neighbours and as such had to maintain an amicable and friendly relation with the people of the sister community. Out of these relations of the Muslims with the Hindus gradually sprang up a mutual toleration and spirit of give-and-take. As a result of this, those, who were of foreign origin adopted some of the Hindu beliefs, practices and customs consciously, while some, quite unconsciously, and as for the conventional converts and their descendants they in their mentality and general attitude to life seen and unseen, continued to be much the same as the unconverted Hindus.

(c) Revival of the old mentality among the converts : It is also a fact that many people changed their religion being fully convinced of a spiritual regeneration. They preferred Islām as a change for the better. They were thoroughly converted and completely Islāmised as they were enthusiasts for the cause of upholding greater truths. Even these converted zealots sometimes betrayed their old mentality by a slight modifications of Islāmic injunctions, beliefs and practices, so that they may properly fit in with their nature and temperament. The descendants of enthusiastic converts remained no more enthusiasts, and as time

passed, the mentality of their fore-fathers, who were Hindus or Animists revived in them to produce many curious results which neither Hinduism nor Animism could claim as its own.

Before we proceed to examine the peculiar local beliefs and practices of the Bengali Muslims, let us try to follow the trend of their minds, in the hope that this will shed

A few indications some light on the present discussion. No conversion of the real tension, and no long training in the school of Islāmic tendencies of the mic thought has yet succeeded fully to convert Bengali Muslims' the Muslims of Bengal ( or for that matter the mind.

Muslims of any other land ) to a people more like and akin to the peoples of Arab origin. All of them, with the exception of only a microscopic minority are still essentially Bengali in thought and deed. The genuine heart of Bengal is still throbbing in them, and it is still manifest in the diverse spheres of their life. A very careful study of the names and nick-names and of the folk-tales and folk-lore of the Bengali Muslims testifies to the fact that long and continuous injection of Islāmic thoughts, ideas and manners has not been successful in altering materially the Bengali mentality of the Muslims of Bengal.

In the realm of the Bengali Muslim thought a process of naturalisation has all along been at work. Whatever exotic element is introduced to their minds is always made their own by a process of assimilation or modification. Such mentality is visible in a number of Arabic and Persian names of the Bengali Muslims. These assimilations and modifications are made so ingeniously as to fit in with the phonetics of pure Bengali words which could be understood in both their sound and sense. The following brief list will prove the fact.

## (a) Names of females Bengalicised :

Arabic and Persian Names.	Bengalicised forms	Meanings of the Bengalicised forms
‘Ayshah	āsha	hope
Maymunah	maynā	a kind of talking bird.
Kulthūm	kusum	flower
Zubaydah	yavā	a kind of flower
Malīha	mālā	garland
Thamīran	samīraṇ	breeze
Laṭifah	latā	creeper
Rashidah	rasyā—rasikā	the merry and jovial one
Cheman-ārā	champā	a kind of flower

## (b) Names of males Bengalicised :

Arabic and Persian names	Bengalicised forms	Meanings of the Bengalicised forms
Shuja’	shujjo, shuruj	the sun.
Thanā(ullah)	sonā (ullā)	gold
Munẓir	manjir	anklet
Mukhlisur (Rahmān)	mukulesvara	lord of buds
Maqbūl	mukul	bud
Bashīr	basu	name of a Hindu caste.
Musharraḥ	mashā	mosquito
Muẓhar	maju	mine
Khūrshēd	khushā	uneatable outer part of a fruit.

(c) Familiar contraction of Arabic and Persian names is another characteristic to be noted. The names are generally contracted according to Bengali phonology. We often meet with such contractions as :

Pīr Bakhsh	=	Pīru.
Idris	=	Idu.
Ināyit	=	Enu,
Wilāyit	=	Belu, etc., etc.

(d) Bengali Muslim parents not being satisfied with the intricate and difficult Arabic and Persian names of their babies always choose such Bengali nicknames for their children as are close to the heart of their parents. Daughters are generally nicknamed *jhinuk* (an oyster), *Jonī* (a contraction of *Jonākī* meaning "fire-fly"), *Maynā* (a kind of talking bird) *Paṭal* (a kind of kitchen vegetable), *chāpā*, *chāmpā* (a kind of flower) *Rānī* (a queen), *Chini* (sugar), *Hāsi* (a smile); *Khukī* (a baby) etc., etc.; and sons are commonly called *Khokā* (a baby) *Bāṇsī* (a flute), *Māṇik* (a gem), *Bolā* (contraction of *Boltā* = hornet), *Lāl Miyān* (the red one), *Madhu Miyān* (the sweet one), *Dudhu Miyān* (the milk-like one). *Māḥan Miyān* (the butter-like one) etc., etc.

(e) Meaningless Bengali names of Muslim children like Bhuti, Puṭu, Puṭī, Hidu, Seru, Ṭunu, Gedā, etc., are very common.

(f) People of the districts of West Bengal as well as Nadiya and Jessore in Central Bengal and in Chittagong give a few popular Vaiṣṇab names to their children. These names generally reveal an old and forgotten influence of the Vaiṣṇabs on the people of the above districts. As those districts were once the most active centres of Vaiṣṇabism, it is not at all surprising to see the influence of the Vaiṣṇabs still surviving even among the Muslims. A few of these names are :

<i>Names</i>	<i>... Implications thereby</i>
Nimāi	... A name of Chaitanya Deva.
Gorā (Chānd)	... Do
Kānu	... A name of Kriṣṇa used by the Vaiṣṇabs.



Kānāi	...	Do
Kālā (Chānd)	...	Do
Kālā (Miyān)	...	Do
Chikan (Miyān)	...	Do (Vaiṣṇab says Chikan Kālā)
Balāi	...	Step brother and a fellow mate of Kriṣṇa.
Nitāi ( Shaikh )	...	A name of Chaitanya Deva.

N. B. Names like Gopāl Shaikh, Shaikh Madan, Shaikh Manohar, Lal Mohan Shaikh, Sondar Ali, are very common in West and Central Bengal. These things surely show the Hindu or native mentality amongst the Muslims. Similar thing is found e. g. in the court of Akbar, when there were plenty of Islāmised Hindus with the mixture of Hindu and Muslim names, and in the Punjab this is prevalent up till now.

(g) Besides the names and nick-names, the folk-tales that are still told and retold in the Muslim *zenanas* of Bengal, are the another source from which we can get a sure glimpse of the heart of the Bengali Muslims. These folk-tales are of neither Arabian nor of Persian origin. Though attempts have been occasionally made to tamper with the style and characters of these tales by the Muslims, yet they are purely Bengali in their conception as well as in the art of narration and execution. They are a national heritage, which has come down to us to tell the story of a dim past when probably none of the fore-fathers of the Bengali Muslim thought of the change of their religion. When they changed their religion they could not do away with this element of national heritage and consequently up till now Muslim children hear, in the evening from their grandmothers, the charming and thrilling stories of *Kānchānmālā*, *Madhumālā*, *Mālanchānmālā*, *Śitbasanta* and others. (For a detailed description of these folk-tales, vide the 'Folk Literature of Bengal' by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen; published by the University of Calcutta ).

A.

Muslim beliefs and practices modified by Hindu and other indigenous influence.

The following beliefs and practices of the Bengali Muslims are Islāmic in the sense that they were either fundamentally Islamic or had long association with Islām. When Modified Muslim beliefs and practices. they were introduced into Bengal, they were tremendously influenced by Hindu and local environments. Therefore, wherever possible, we shall try to trace the history of the development of these beliefs and practices.

Pīr-Purastī or saint-worship.

(i) A Pīr is universally believed to be a divine person. Without a direct initiation from him, a Muslim is doomed to eternal pardition. Such a belief has ultimately led to the growth of an unflinching faith in and a complete servile devotion to a *Pir*, even in the case of his being a great cheat and a first class hypocrite. Unusual influence of the doctrine of *Pir-murīdī* (already referred to in one of the previous chapters) on the Muslims of Bengal is the result of this mentality. It is needless to mention here that this doctrine of '*Pir-murīdī*' is but the manifestation of Hindu doctrine of '*Guruvāda*'. *Guruvāda* deviated much from the connection with original Hindu doctrine in Bengal long before the entrance of the Muslims to this country, and was debased to an extent almost unrecognisable. Under the demoralising influence of that debased form of '*Guruvāda*' the Muslims of Bengal learned gradually to worship a Pīr and his grave. To all intents and purposes, these '*Pīrs*' were neither in the past nor at present are spiritual guides to the so-called path of their disciples' spiritual enlightenment; still they were and are regarded as gods who could grant any and every boon to their devoted followers. Though they are ordinary mortals, they are popularly believed to be immortals in human frame. Hence, the limitations of the

human beings are not applicable to them : they die, but even after their death, they live in the world invisibly in spirit to bless their surviving disciples and followers for the fulfilment of their vows and grant of success in mundane matters.

Graves of popular '*Pīrs*' are generally protected under mausoleums, thatched sheds or mud-built houses and covered with valuable clothes or curtains in Bengal. '*Itar* (otto of rose), *Gulāb* (rose-water) and many other kinds of liquid scent are poured over the graves ; *Lubān* (frankincence) candles and earthen lamps are burnt beside them ; orpiment and vermilion are used as paints ; flowers, red threads, clay-horses and various other similar things are given as offerings.

Nowhere in the whole code of Islām, are found injunctions to observe such practices and beliefs in connection with any departed soul ; yet it has become a part of the religious duty

of a class of Bengali and other Indian Muslims to observe and cherish them in connection with a history of '*Pīr*-departed *Pīr*. Besides India, in Afghanistan and *purastī*" or saint some parts of Turkistān and Persia, similar practices worship in and beliefs are found among the Muslims. They Bengal. consider it a mark of respect and devotion to their

dead *Pīrs*. So far as we see, such polytheistic devotion, found among the Muslims of the countries mentioned just now, is the result of the survival of Buddhist mentality in them through the converts. The very Persian word *Pīr* meaning an old man is a counterpart of the Buddhist word *Therea* < *Sthavīra* meaning an old man. The Buddhist practice of *Chaitya-pujā* i.e. worship of gravemaunds of the departed saintly men (*sthavīra* or *thera*—an old man) is undoubtedly at the basis of *Pīr*-adoring practices. As the Buddhists attach and attribute some mysterious powers to their *Thereas*, they do not burn their dead bodies. They bury them under the ground, so that they may repair to their graves at the hour of need for invocation of their blessings. The lay Buddhists perfume their graves with *Dhūpa* and *Dhūna* (raisins) and worship them and give votive offerings of flowers and other things to them. Undoubtedly, when Buddhist Turks and other people were converted to Islām in the eleventh and

twelfth centuries, they introduced their old practices and beliefs to Islām under new names. Though they kept everything in tact, yet *Sihavīra* (in Pāli, *thera*) became *Pīr* and *Dhūpa*, *Dhūnā*, sandal-paste, lotus, flowers etc. were subessequently replaced by *Lubān*, *‘Iṣar*, *Gulāb* etc. *Chaitya-pūjā* was current in Bengal as in other lands where Buddhism flourished. The descendants of *Chaitya* worshippers, when converted to Islām, became the tomb-worshippers (*Gur-purast*) or saint-worshippers (*Pīr-purast*).

(ii) There are many cremonies and practlces observed in honour of a *Pīr* by the Muslims (with the excep- Ceremonies in tion of only a few othodox and puritanic ones) of honour of a *Pīr*. Bengal. Among these, the following few are very common :

(a) *‘Urs* : It is the anniversary held in honour of a departed *Pīr* in celebration of his death. The word *Urs* literally means *marriage* and it is used for the death-anni-versary of a *Pīr* in its euphemistic sense to characterise it as the date of union of the *‘Urs*. *Pīr* with God. Generally under the impression of a false belief that unless this ceremony is performed, *Pīrs* are not satisfied with their followers. People, therefore, pay annual tribute to their departed masters living in graves by dancing, singing and prostrating before the graves. Cows, goats and fowls are generally slaughtered on this occasion and sometimes in the names of the *Pīr*, and with their meat a feast is served to those who attend the ceremony. On this occasion, generally a fair is held which according to importance of the *Dargāh*, lasts from a day to a week or fortnight or even a month.

(b) *Chirāghī* : This is a present, offered to the *Khādīm* (guardian) of shrines of the dead *Pīrs* for offering votive lamps to be burnt on or by the side of the tombs concerned. *Chirāghī* It is commonly believed that if such offerings are given for illuminating the tombs of *Pīrs*, desires of the voteries are fulfilled.

(c) *Shirni* :- This is an offering of choicest eatable things to the grave of a departed *Pīr* or to a living saint. *Shirni* It consists of sweets, cakes, fruits, rice, molasses and similar other things which are distributed among the voteries after being duly offered. People believe that such

offerings are good means of escaping evils, dangers, misfortunes and difficulties. Besides, the litigant, sufferers from diseases, and aspirants after winning any distinction generally vow *Shirni* to a saint or his grave.

(d) *Tabarruk* :—This simply means food already offered to any *Pir*, dead or alive. This is purely an imitation of Hindu practice of *Prasād grahan*. Both *Tabarruk* and *Prasād* are taken by lay men as sacred things having association with any saint or deity.

(e) *Nūr* :—This *Nūr* does not mean *light* : it simply means a votive queue kept in the name of certain *pīr*. Therefore, it is sometimes called *pirer nūr*. In some localities of West and North Bengal, many ignorant and superstitious Muslims still keep such *Nūrs*, on the heads of their children, and when the vow is fulfilled, it is shaved off. The day of the shaving of *Nūr* is always attended with a small or big ceremony held in honour of that *pīr* in whose name the queue was vowed. This *Nūr* is simply the counterpart of *Ṭiki* or a tuft of hair kept by the Hindus, and Hindu children are frequently made to have a tuft of hair on the head turned into matted hairs (*Jaṭ*) in honour of a godling which is believed to look after children and at the end of a fixed period *pūjā* is done to the deity and this matted tuft is cut off.

(iii) Besides historical personages of renown and saintly character, many legendary and local *pīrs* of obscure origin and unknown history are worshipped and honoured by the superstitious Muslims of Bengal. Most of these “Pirs” of legend-*pīrs* are analogous to the *Nats* of Burmese folk-dary origin. So far as we understand, these legendary *pīrs* are nothing but village-gods (*Grāma-devatā*) imperfectly Islāmised by the term *pīr*. Amongst these *pīrs*, the following few are prominent :

(a) *Ghoḍā pīr* :—In the district of Bogra, an annual fair is held in honour of *Ghoḍā Pīr* near the Sonātalā railway station. In this fair, clay horses are sold to people who go there to pay homage to *Ghoḍā Pīr* are generally seen on the road side in the districts of Māldah, Burdwan, Midnapur, Howrah, and 24-Parganahs. Illiterate

and superstitious Muslims of these districts believe that if clay horses are offered to the memory of *Ghoḍā Pīr*, all diseases of legs and feet are cured by his blessings.

(b) *Pīr Māchāṇḍālī Saif*: In the district 24-Parganahs, there is a tomb of *Pīr Māchāṇḍālī Saif* near Gangā Sāgar. He is believed to be the *pīr* of the sailors. When *Pīr Māchāṇḍālī* ships or boats are stuck fast on shoals, the sailors *Saif*. invoke his spirit and he is said to render them help on such occasions.

(c) In the district of Bogra, the tombs of *Lengṭā Pīr* at Sonāmukhī and *Pīr Sohākalā* at Qasba are visited by many Muslims and Hindus. General belief is that these *Lengṭā pīr* and two local *pīrs* possess wonderful powers and can *Pīr Sohākalā*, grant boons of various nature to those who give offerings to their graves.

(d) *Tenā pīr*: *Tenā pīr* is a popular *pīr* in many parts of North and West Bengal. In honour of this *pīr*, people generally tie rags or threads on the boughs of *Tenā pīr* trees near the supposed graves of the *pīr*. When rags are tied, people mentally invoke the spirit of the *pīr* for the fulfilment of their vows.

(e) *Pīr Sadu* and *Sonā Ghāzī*: These two *pīrs* are generally associated with the prostitutes of Bengal. In the whole of Northern India, the former is greatly popular among *Pīr Sadu* and the Muslim courtezans. The tomb of the latter is *Sonā Ghāzī*, situated in Sonāgāchī and both Hindu and Muslim prostitutes of the locality give offerings to his grave.

(f) *Jurmā* or *Jummā pīr*: The tomb of this *pīr* is situated in Barabazar, Calcutta. This *pīr* is a deity who presides over commercial transactions, and hence the Marwarī *Jummā pīr* merchants of Barabazar daily pay homage to him for their prosperity in business. *Jummā pīr* is more a *pīr* of the Marwarīs than a *pīr* of the Muslims.

(g) *Pāñch pīr*: A quintette of five legendary *pīrs* is universally respected all over Bengal. This quintette is known in Bengal by the name of *Pāñch pīr* or five saints. As the *Pāñch Pīriah* belief is a curious and interesting one, it requires a bit elaborate treatment.

"In West Bengal, 'the five saints' are often worshipped as family deities, being represented by a small maund on a clay plinth erected in the north-western corner of one of the rooms of the dwelling house. On this, is fixed a piece of iron, resembling in its shape the human hand, each finger symbolising one of the quintette with a piece of yellow cloth bound where the wrist should be".<sup>1</sup> "Every Wednesday the maunds is washed, incense is burnt before it and offerings of flowers are made. On special occasions sacrifices are offered either of goats or cocks. Where the votary is a Hindu, he often engages a *Dafālī* (a man of the drummer caste) *Faqīr* to perform the ceremony on his behalf".<sup>2</sup> In some parts of 24-Parganahs, still Muslims offer *Shīrnī* prepared with cocoanuts, sugar, rice, etc., to *pāñch pīr* and then distribute it to the children invited to take the *Shīrnī* of *Pāñch pīr*. In the whole of East Bengal, *Pāñch pīr* receive homage from the illiterate masses, boatmen of East Bengal, still invoke the spirit of *Pāñch pīr* by the cry—"Allāh, nabī, pāñch pīr, Badar' Badar", on the eve of every water-trip. "Amidst the forest that has overgrown the old city of Sonārgaon is a very holy shrine called the *Pāñch pīr*, where five unfinished tombs stand, to which Hindus and Muslims come from long distances in fulfilment of vows".<sup>3</sup> In North Bengal too, *Pāñch pīr* is not less popular among the masses who propitiate them by the offerings of *shīrnī*.

The *Pāñch pīr* are collectively invoked in Bengal by their votaries who believe that this quintette can fulfil various kinds of vows. When people fell ill, they offer *shīrnī* to the quintette for an early recovery; again when they are at perfect peace and in prosperity, they pay respect to the five saints by the regular offer of *shīrnī* with a view to granting permanency to their peace

1. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IX, p. 601.

2. *Census Report of India*, E.A. Gait, 1901, Vol. Vi, Bengal Report, pl. I, p. 185 f.

3. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII, pt. III No. 1, 1894. p. 44.

and prosperity. It is a general belief that these five saints can relieve their voteries from troubles like involvement in law-suits, breakage of Cholera, Small-pox, and Malaria in the village, premature death of children, financial stringency, scarcity of water etc. etc.

But none definitely knows, who these five saints were. From place to place, the names of the five saints vary in Bengal. The

chief feature of the lists of these variable names

Who are the is this that most of the lists contain the name of  
*"Pāñch pir* one or two of the local saints of obscure origin.

The variable character of these lists warrant us to hold the view that the quintette grew up centring round one or two historical figures; it may be a group of some local and legendary personages to whom certain mysterious powers are attributed by the voteries.

Faith in the "*Pāñch Pīriah*" quintette is a very common belief among the Muslims of the whole of Northern India. But the idea of personages forming the quintette is just as vague as the idea of the Bengali Muslims.<sup>1</sup> From this it can be fairly maintained that the *Pāñch Pīriah* belief among the Muslims of Northern India including Bengal, grew up out of the fusion of Indian and Indianised Islāmic mentality. So far as the *Pir-Murīdī* mentality of the Muslims can be called Islāmic

for its long association with the Eastern Islām, the  
 The idea of belief in *Pīr* of the quintette may be called Islāmic.  
 quintette is a But the number of the *Pīrs* being limited to five,  
 Hindu one. cannot be ascribed to Islām. Excepting the number  
 of times for prayers which are to be performed

five times a day, no other custom or belief of Islām ensures us to hold that number "five" is a traditional number of the Muslims. On the other hand, "five" almost as much as three and seven, is a mystic number with the Hindus, who recite every morning the sacred names ( viz. Kauśalyā, Draupadī, Kuntī, Tārā, Mandodarī ) of the five chaste women for 'expiation of great sins'. The story of the five Pāṇdavas forms the *Mahāvarata*, one of the most sacred religious books of the Hindus. In the

1. *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, W. Crooke, pp. 165-166.



forest of Panchavaṭī abounded with five kinds of sacred '*Vaṭa*' trees, Rāma and Sītā were banished. In order to prevent the premature death of a Hindu child, he is often named '*Pāñch Kaḍi*'. The river Sindhu is sacred to the Hindus, because it contains 'five' prominent tributaries, viz. Śatadru, Vipāśā, Irāvati, Chandrabhāgā, and Vitastā. The whole province of the Punjab ( a land of five waters ) is still testifying to the Hindu love for the mystic number 'five'. In India, no rural matter is still amicably settled without the formation of a body called '*Panchayet*' consisting of five leading villagers.

From the above, it will be clearly seen that the number of the '*pīrs*' in the the *Pāñch Piriah* quintette was the result of Hindu mentality found among the illiterate Muslims of Northern India, whose ancestors were, in many cases, Hindu converts. It is also probable that the Muslims of Northern India borrowed the number 'five' from their Hindu neighbours, to whom it was a very favourite and sacred number. None can deny the fact that the Hindu environment of India contributed and is still contributing many things to Islām of this country. The other day, when a Muslim writer of Bengal wrote a book entitled *Moslem Pāñcha Sati* or Five Muslim Chaste Women, surely he had in his mind an idea of placing before his Muslim public, a list of five Muslim chaste women exactly similar to the list of those of the Hindus. He could safely make his number more or less, but unconscious processes were evidently at work in his mind.

(h) Khijir Pīr or Khoyāj Khijir.  
( Khawājah Khidr.)

Khawaja Khidr better known as Khijir Pīr or Khoyāj Khijir still receives the homage of the illiterate and superstitious Muslims of the districts of Murshidābād, Nadiyā, 24-Parganahs, Bākharganj, Farīdpūr, Dacca, Mymensing, Khijir pīr Pābna and a few other districts of Bengal lying along the bank of great rivers or sea-coast. Kidderpore ( a deviated form of Khidr pūr ) in Calcutta still bears

the testimony of the great influence of Khidr on the old inhabitants of the locality. In some of the ballads of Chittagong Khidr or Khoyāj Khijir has been described as *pir* whose help has been implored by the heroes and heroines at the time of shipwreck. In the whole of Northern India (i. e. Hindustān) and specially in the Punjab, Khawājah Khidr is very popular.<sup>1</sup>

Not to speak of the voteries of Khidr, almost all of the Muslims of Bengal, nay the whole of Northern India, believe that Khidr is an immortal man, who accidentally drank 'the water of life' (*ab-i-hayāt*) at a time unknown to History and thus escaped death for ever. In this way, when he became immortal, Allāh made him the guardian deity to preside

Nature of belief in Khidr. over the waters of the world. Being thus entrusted with the duty of presiding over water, Khidr thenceforward began to reside in the seas and rivers of the world, protect mariners from ship-wreck and save others from drowning. It is further believed that Khidr favours them with his audience, who can continually accomplish a watch for forty days and nights on the shore of a sea or the bank of a river.

Khijir Pir is generally propitiated by the superstitious Muslims of Bengal by the annual performance of a ceremony called *Berā Bhāsān*. The word *Berā* appears to be the deviated Bengali form of the Sanskrit word *Bhelā* meaning a 'raft'. Because, the ceremony of *Berā Bhāsān* is performed by launching of boats made of paper or rafts made of floating materials and lighted with earthen lamps. The paper-boat which

Ceremony of 'Berā Bhāsān'. is launched in water on the last Thursday of the Bengali month of *Bhadra* (August and September).

is called the '*Berā*'. In shape, it perfectly resembles a *Mor-pankhī* pleasure boat of Bengal with a prow having on its top a face of a female, and a bow and a stern much resembling the breast and the hinder part of a pea-cock, generally found in the *Mor-pankhī*  $\Delta$  *Mayār - pakṣī* pleasure boats. From a few hours before the evening, people, both voteries of Khidr and spectators, assemble in festive mood on both sides of the nearest river and eagerly wait for the nightfall,

1. *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, W. Crookes pp. 57-58

after which the festivity of the launching of *Berā* begins amidst acclamations and shouts of joy from the spectators as well as the votaries. *Mullās* (priests) of Brahmin type wait on the river banks for the performance of the ceremony, which consists of only a short prayer to *Khidr*, lighting of earthen lamps placed on the *Berā* in the name of *Khidr* and the distribution of a few plantains, betel leaves and nuts and flour-cakes among the beggars. *Mullās* generally get a very small sum as their fee which does not exceed four annas. In this way the festival of '*Berā Bhāsān*' is performed now a days. About a century ago, it used to be performed in the following manner :

"The offering (i. e. annual offering to *Khidr*) consists of a boat, or ship, constructed of bamboos and coloured paper ornamented with flags, lamps, etc. It is placed upon inverted earthen pots, being carried in procession to the river-side, is launched into the river amidst the acclamations of the populace and the discordant sounds of every kind of music, and floats down the current with majestic pomp. It is called the offering of the Biera".<sup>1</sup>

*Berā Bhāsān* or launching of boats was an old festival popular with the Muslims of Bengal during the Mughal period when it was performed with much eclat, pomp and grandeur. Historical reference to the Mughal governor of Dacca was obliged to give an early popularity official recognition to this festival, by making at of '*Berā Bhāsān*' Dacca, an annual offering to 'Khuaje Khizer', to propitiate his good officers in protecting their inland commerce'.<sup>2</sup> But *Khidr* was not satisfied with the governor, who had to meet with a premature death within six months of his office by drowning.<sup>3</sup> During the rule of Murshid Quli *Khān* (1704-1727), the festival was again officially recognized and the governor himself used to patronize the festival for gaining popularity with his subjects.<sup>4</sup> Sirāj-ud-Dawlah (1756-1757)

1. *History of Bengal* Charles Stewart (1847) Foot Note,—p. 150

2. *Ibid*, p. 150

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Ibid*. p 254

the last Nawwāb Nāẓim of Bengal used to join the festival performed on the banks of the Bhāgirathī in Murshidābād.<sup>1</sup>

From the history traced above, it will be clearly seen that the festival of *Berā Bhāsān* became a national festival during the Mughal rule. From this we can fairly presume that even during the Pathan rule in Bengal, the festival was not unknown, and in all probability it was in vogue with the Muslims; otherwise all on a sudden, it could not receive an official recognition during the Mughal rule.

However, a belief in *Khidr* as the deity presiding over the waters of the world is the thing that receives our attention here. Arabian Muslims too believe in a certain unhistorical immortal in the name of *Khidr* or the Green One. Modern researches on

the historicity of *Khidr* have amply proved that Antiquity of *Khidr* of the Arabs was identical either with Greek *Khidr* belief mythical figure 'Glaukos' meanings 'the Green One' in Islām. or with Andreas, the cook of Alexander, the story

of whom is 'recorded in the Greek Alexander romance which goes under the name of pseudo-Callisthenes, a work of very complex literary character', compiled about 300 A. D.<sup>2</sup> *Khidr*, the cook of Alexander, was subsequently raised to the prophet Elijah by the early commentators of the Qurān and the theologians of Islām. Otherwise, nowhere in the Qurān is found the name of *Khidr* or an explicit reference to him.<sup>3</sup> Whatever may be the case, belief in *Khidr* is an early faith even among the Arabian Muslims. But when and how *Khidr* was

1. *Siyaru'l-MutaKhKhirin* (Tran), Vol. II., p. 533

2. (i) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, vol. II.—article on "*Khidr*", pp. 861-863 ;

(ii) *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. vii, pp. 693-695.

3. According to the theological tradition of Islām, *Khidr* is ever associated with the name of Moses. The theologians and the commentators of the Qurān are of opinion that the name of *Khidr* has been implicitly referred to in the Qurān, Chap. XVIII, v. 26-63. In these verses the reference is only made to an attendant of Moses in the term *Fatā* which simply means 'a young man.' How this *Fatā* or young attendant of Moses can be identified with '*Khidr*' is not known to us. It is simply an arbitrary identification for the support of a popular legend leading one to a belief in the mythical person *Khidr*.

associated with water, we do not know. He is not recognized as the only deity presiding over the waters in all parts of Arabia and Persia even : one Abū Sulaymah and the great saint 'Abdu 'l-Qādir of Jilān ( 1078-1166 A. D.) are generally recognized as the deities presiding over certain portions of the Arabian sea, 'while a female spirit, Mama Salma, presiding over the ocean beating against the cliffs of Ras Mosandim, at the entrance of the Persian Gulf.<sup>1</sup> Abu Ishāq al-Kazrūnī ( d. 1034 A. D. ) another great saint of Persia is recognized as the patron saint of the sailors of Shīrāz.<sup>2</sup> All these facts go to prove that though Khidr is generally called '*Khawwādu-l-buḥūr*' or 'the deity of the seas' by the Syrians,<sup>3</sup> he is not recognized everywhere in Arabia as 'the deity of the seas'. Yet, his association with waters was of early origin,—early in the sense that he was associated with waters long before the entrance of Islām to India.

Being thus associated with waters, Khidr was introduced into Northern India ( Hindustan ) by the Muslim Turks, with whom it entered Bengal in the very beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. Probably, up to the fourteenth century, he was not attributed with all the identical qualities of Varuṇa, the Vaidic Hindu god of waters. Besides, the Hindus believe in the sanctity of many rivers of India and in the deities presiding over them. This belief had undoubtedly contributed something to the conversion of Arabian Khidr into Varuṇa of the Indians. This is why we mark Khidr in the subsequent centuries as one divested of almost all Islāmic—rather Arabian associations to become an excellent counterpart of Varuṇa or any of the water deities of India, and how this transformation was made is interesting to note here.

Just as in Arabia, in India too Khidr is not recognized among Muslims as the only saint or deity presiding over waters.

1. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. LXiii, part-III, No. I, 1894, p. 39.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Primitive Semitic Religion Today* (German Edition ), Leipzig, 1903. p. xvi f. and p. 111.

"On the Coromandal coast Qādir Wālī Ṣāhib is the patron saint of sailors, as Shaykh 'Alī Haydarī was at Cambay in the fourteenth century."<sup>1</sup> Throughout the whole of Eastern Bengal, Pīr Badr, a saint of the 14th century, is still respected as the guardian saint of the boat-man, and people living near Gangā Sāgar in the district of 24—Parganahs (Bengal) pay homage to Pīr Māchāṇḍālī Saif as a protector of the local sailors. These facts go to prove that a revival of the old polytheistic heart of the Indian converts manifested itself in the ascription of the attributes of Varuṇa, the water-deity of the Hindus, to the local saints of historical and legendary character. In all probability, when the Khidr legend became popular in India through the medium of the migrated Muslims, their Indian bretheren, many of whom were converts or the descendants of the converts, found an excellent counterpart of Varuṇa in Khidr for the proper ventilation of their Varuṇa-idea, so long remaining dormant in their minds for want of a suitable outlet.

'Berā Bhāsān' or the launching of boats in honour of Khidr, the water-deity of the Indian Muslims seem to be the revival of ancient animistic practice of the Indian 'Berā Bhāsān' in general and Bengal in particular. By the launching of the 'Berā', Khidr is believed to have been propitiated and it is more than sure that no Islāmic injunction or practice can be ascribed to the growth of this. The practice of propitiating water-deity by means of launching rafts and boats is an ancient Indian animistic custom that is still to be found in different parts of India. 'Hindu pilgrims at the Narabada launch a boat with black sails, which soon became white, a sign that the sins of the penitent have been carried away.'<sup>2</sup> The Lhotā Nāgās propitiate the water-deity by launching a miniature raft on which an egg, a little cotton wool, and a living bird tied to it by the leg, are generally placed.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the Hindus

1. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXIII, part III, No. 1, 1894, p. 40.

2. *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, W. Crooke, p. 63.

3. *Op. Cit.*, p. 62.

of India, believe in the sanctity of many rivers and the deities presiding over them. The propitiation of these deities is also very common in India. But the difference lies only in methods and not in the principle of propitiation. "In the Punjab, the Gaddis propitiate with offerings of food the Batal, spirits of springs, wells and rivers. In the lower Himalaya bundles of rags and prayer-flage are hung on cane bridges and the trees near them to propitiate the local river-devils. In Chambo, the Jal-joginī or evil water-spirit, like the Aija or *Jaldevatā* of the Deccan casts spells on women and children and causes disease or death. There are special protectors of passengers at *Ghaṭs* or fords. In the Central Provinces he is known as *Ghātorīa* Deo, 'deity of the river-crossing' and *Dhimār* fishermen keep a chicken in their boat to be offered to him when the crossing is dangerous."<sup>1</sup>

Transition from these protecting water-spirits and deities can be easily made to a powerful one such as Varuṇa or *Khidr*. Some such case might have happened in the *Khidr* belief of India ; but the launching of rafts in honour of *Khidr* may be considered as the revival of only one of the propitiatory practices of Indian water-deities. In the rivers of Bengal rafts are often seen floating down the stream with light, flowers and vermillion. These are launched at different times by the Hindu votaries of various localities. Every year on '*Paus Sankrānti*' day floats or boats or plaintain trunks or wood with fruits and sweets, flowers and light are floated by girls with a prayer for absent brothers and other relatives who have to make journeys on water. This ceremony is called '*Sodo Bhāṣān*.' Besides, in the Bengali month of *Kārtik* (October and November) boats with lighted lamp are floated down the Ganges by Hindu women ; in this very month of *Kārtik* lights are raised aloft on poles on terraces of Hindu houses in honour of the '*Pitris*' or the forefathers. These facts taken together into account lead us to believe that '*Berā Bhāṣān* in honour of *Khidr* is a revival of animistic practice among the converted Muslims of Bengal and other parts of Northern India.

1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 60.

(i) *Sātpīr* or *Ghāzī Miyān*.

Not being satisfied with the creation of a quintette of *Pāñchpīr*, the Muslims of Bengal have created a heptade of *Sātpīr* otherwise, known as *Ghāzī Miyān*. This heptade

(1) is a conglomeration of seven legendary *pīrs*, all *Sātpīr* or *Ghāzī* of whom may be called the sylvan deities of the *Miyān*. Muslims. Though this heptade is generally known by the name of *Sātpīr*, yet it often goes by one name amongst the seven, and it is *Ghāzī Miyān* or Zindah *Ghāzī* or *Ghāzī*. None can definitely say—who this *Ghāzī* was. But the extreme popularity of his name might be of the fact that *Ghāzī Miyān* or Zindah *Ghāzī* was one of the forgotten militant saints of Bengal with whose name, other six legendary saints were added. Unfortunately, no satisfactory proof of this proposition has yet been produced, and as such we cannot but include him in the class of legendary saints of Bengal.

*Sātpīr* or *Ghāzī Miyān* is popular with the wood-cutters of Southern as well as some parts of Eastern Bengal. In some parts of the districts of Dacca and Mymensing both Localities where Hindu and Muslim wood-cutters pay homage to *Ghāzī Miyān* is *Sātpīr*, a heptade of sylvan '*pīrs*'. Muslim villagers popular. of Nadiyā offer *Shīrnī* to *Sātpīr*, another heptade, for general welfare and mundane benefit of the family. Wood-cutters of the Sundarbans in the district of 24—Parganahs worship *Ghāzī Miyān* and Kālu *Ghāzī* along with five other Hindu deities. Zindah *Ghāzī* is the patron saint of the Muslim wood cutters of Dacca and Mymensing. In the district of Chittagong and also in its neighbouring districts one *Ghāzī* is eulogised by a chorus of religious singers known as '*Ghāzīr Gāyin*'.

The heptade, in which *Ghāzī Miyān*'s is the most important personality, seems to be the representative group of all *pīrs*, *Ghāzīs*, and deities mentioned just now. Stories that have grown around the names of *Ghāzī Miyān*, Zindah *Ghāzī*, Kālu *Ghāzī* and *Ghāzī* are essentially similar, the variations to be found being local. The *Sātpīrs* are believed to be patron saints of



the forest and none definitely knows, who they were. Probably this *Sātpīr* group is identical with the *Ghāzī Miyān* group of Sundarbans—both the groups being formed of sylvan 'pirs' and deities.

The following practices are generally observed in connection with the worship of the heptade of sylvan deities or *Ghāzī Miyān* :

A class of *Faqirs* still live near the Sundarbans who claim their descent from *Ghāzī Miyān*. The wood-cutters take one of these *Faqirs* with them, when they enter the forest. Practice followed in groups for collecting faggots and other forest in connection materials. The *Faqir* leads the party to a certain with *Ghāzī* portion of the forest, where he clears with the *Miyān*. help of his followers a considerable space and makes

preparation for the worship of *Ghāzī Miyān*. First of all, he marks out a circle round the cleared space along with the recitation of charms and incantations and then within this circle, he chooses a good spot for his worship. Within this spot he builds seven small thatched huts in a single row. Beginning from the right, the first three huts are successively kept apart for the three gods Jagabandu (the Friend of the world), Mahādeva (the Destroyer of the world), and Manasā (the Goddess of snakes). Next to the third, a small space is left where a small platform is raised in the name of a sylvan deity called *Rupaparī*. Beside the platform of *Rupaparī*, the fourth hut is built with two compartments meant for the goddess *Kālī* and her daughter *Kālīmāyā*. Next to the fourth hut, another small platform is raised for another sylvan deity called *Orparī* (*Hurparī*?). Beside this platform, the fifth hut with two compartments is built. One compartment of this hut is dedicated to *Kāmeśvarī* (the goddess of the temple of *Kāmrupa* in Assam?), while the other to *Buḍī Thākurañī*, probably a local deity. Next to the fifth hut, a tree smeared with vermilion is kept as a resting place of *Rakṣā Chandī* i. e. *Kālī*. Then the sixth and seventh huts are built, each having two compartments. The sixth hut is dedicated to *Ghāzī Miyān* and his brother *Kālū Ghāzī*, and

the seventh, to Sawwāl Ghāzī, the son of Ghāzī Miyān, and Rām Ghāzī, the son of Kālu Ghāzī. On the top of these last two huts, two small flags are put to flutter in the breeze, and after the seventh hut, another small platform is raised in honour of the *Bāstu Devatā* (Homestead deity). After all these preparations, offerings are given to the respective deities with rice and sugar, plantain and cocoanut and many other articles. Incantations and charms are recited sometimes with music and sometimes without it. The place is kept lighted during the whole night and the *Faqīr* passes sleepless nights in prayer to Ghāzī Miyān for the protection of his party from the attack of tigers and other ferocious animals of the forest.<sup>1</sup>

Inhabitants of the Sundarbans locality believe that Ghāzī Miyān is immortal; his spirit presides over the forest to protect his votaries from the attack of tigers and other ferocious animals. Wood-cutters of Dacca and Mymensing also believe in Ghāzī to be an immortal sylvan '*pīr*'. This is why he is often called '*Zindah General Ghāzī*' or the warrior saint who is immortal. *Sātpīr* is also belief in a heptade of sylvan deities, called by the name '*pīr*'. Besides, *Sātpīr*. for the worship of Ghāzī Miyān, seven huts dedicated to seven prominent Hindu deities, (Muhammedan names being only clothings) are built. The '*Ghāzīr Gāyins*' of Chittagong and its neighbouring districts eulogise one Ghāzī along with a number of Hindu gods and goddesses in the preliminary discourse of the '*Pālā*' (a song on some religious topics), by which the '*Gāyins*' or minstrels entertain their audience. All these facts warrant us to believe that all these deities or *pīrs* form a heptade in which Ghāzī Miyān occupies a prominent place.

What is to be marked is that though this heptade is generally recognized as a group of sylvan deities, its chief function is to give protection to its worshippers especially from tigers, and generally from other animals. Tiger-worship is a common practice of the aborigines found in the different parts of India; 'the Kisāns of Pālāmaw, Sirgujā and Jāspur, the Gonds of Central India, the Santals of the Santal Paraganahs, the Khonds

1. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXII, part III, No.2, 1903 p. 45-52.

and the Oraons of Orissa, the Canarese people of Southern India, the Moondēhs of Chota Nāgpur and Singbhūm, the Katodis, Kakhyens living in the hills to the East of Burmah and the Burmese worship a tiger-deity'.<sup>1</sup> The Hindus and some Muslims of South-eastern Bengal worship Dakṣiṇa Rāy and Kālu Rāy, the tiger-gods of the Sundarbans. Belief in Sylvan deities is commonly found among the Hindus as well as animists of India and Bengal. Bengali Muslims' belief in *Sātpir*, among whom *Ghāzī Miyān* is prominent, is undoubtedly the result of a revival of ancient Indian animistic belief among the converted Muslims of Bengal.

## B

### Practices in connection with the Muslim festivals in Bengal.

Muslim festivals observed in India are in a way peculiar to India. But, the manner in which they are performed here in Bengal is greatly influenced by local influences and Hindu environment. *Muḥarram*, *Shab-i-barāt*, *Fātiḥa-i-duwāz dahum*, and *Madārī* are the four Muslim festivals which have been much affected by Hindu and other local influences. Besides these, there are many other occasional and chiefly local ceremonies which too are affected more or less by indigenous influences. Let us now take up each case and examine to see what has happened to it.

(i) *Muḥarram*: The first ten days of the lunar month *Muḥarram* is the time for the celebration of this festival. Though *Muḥarram* is mainly a *Shī'ah* festival, a large number of Sunnis take part in it. This is held in memory of the great martyr of Imām-Ḥusayn the grand son of the Prophet Muḥammad. In response to human sympathy for the martyrs of a noble cause, the

1. Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal, Vol. LXV, part. III, No. 1, 1896, pp. 1-2.

Muslims pray for spiritual benefit of Ḥusayn and observe fast all over the world. But in India, as well as in *Muḥarram*. Bengal, the case is otherwise, and with the *Shī'ahs* sepecially. In place of prayer and fasting, they and along with them many Sunnis, try to enact the tragedy of Karbala, the memorable battle field of Ḥusayn, where he courted martyrdom. They enact the past events in a manner which no code of strict Islām can tolerate. By the recitation of *Marthiyahs* or elegies composed in memorium of the Noble Martyr, they pay such homage to him as only befits polytheists, when they eulogise their guardian deities or saints. They purely deify him and in their deification a clear polytheistic influence is traceable. *Ta'ziyahs* (lit. condolences) or more popularly known as *Gahwārahs* (lit. . cradles) i. e. models of the tomb of Ḥusayn are built with lavish expenditure,<sup>1</sup> which again the *Qurān* does not allow,<sup>2</sup> and carried to certain places called Karbalās, where almost all of them are immersed into water. Horses or models of horses (where horses are not available) with all mock paraphernalias of ancient war are led in procession, *Bihishtis* or water-carriers wash the feet of these horses often with water and sometimes with milk, and the processionists come forward to touch and salute them in the hope of acquiring merit. Enthusiasts among the processionists sometimes adopt a wild sort of self-mortification wounding their bodies with a bunch of sharp small weapons such as knives, splints of iron, pieces of tin etc. *Ta'ziyahs* or *Gahwārahs* are sometimes adorned with the installation of human figures made of coloured papers and often with the offering of flowers and garlands. The processions are enlivened with the beating of drums, playing of music and whirlings of flambeaus.

1. The expenditure entailed for building *Gahwārahs* in India will amount to laks in every year, if it be hoarded in one fund. This fund could be more usefully utilised in nation building and religious works than in the building of useless and un-Islamic *Gahwārahs*.
2. In connection with lavish expenditure on anything social or religious the *Qurān* says : *Inna-'l-mubazzirīnā Kānū lghwāna-'sh-shayāfīn*", i. e. those who expend lavishly are undoubtedly the brothers of devils.

Besides these common practices observed by all the Muslims of Bengal ( and northern India ), in the district of Pābna, some other additional practices are observed by the illiterate Muslim masses in connection with *Muharram*. One and a half mile west of the town of Pābna, there is a famous 'dargah' known as the '*Maynāmatī* or *Naynāmatīr Pīrenīr Āstānā*. The guardian of this *Astānah* is always a pious female who is called "*Pīrenī*" or "*Pīrānī*". This "*Astānah*" is the most active centre of *Muharram* celebration in the district, and the *Pīrenī* is the undisputed authority over all the *Gahwārah* parties organised in the town. In the various parts of the town, different *Gahwārah* parties, the active participants of which are chiefly recruited from *Muharram Qāšids*, ( lit. Courier of *Muharram* ) are exclusively organised by the Sunnis. *Muharram Qāšids* are boys, mostly under teens, and dedicated by their parents to the *Muharram* parties. Those parents who have either no son or are late in getting sons generally make vows to *Muharram* that if they are blessed with the birth of a son, they will give him training of a *Muharram Qāšid* for a number of years until the boy attains his majority after which it is an option to the boy to participate in a *Gahwārah*. Almost all of the *Muharram Qāšids* of Pābna are such votive sons of their parents. These *Qāšids* conform to a few rules during the time of the festival. They being clad in red uniforms participate every day in their respective parties with *lāthis* ( staffs ) or mock swords in their hands. Public streets are blocked by their *lāthi* demonstration and processions. They do not take fish or flesh for ten days, speak with anybody while on duty, and allow anybody to pass before the party if he does not show respect to the party by coming down from the conveyance he uses or by disloading his burden from his head if he be a porter. In the night, they repair to the *Astānah* and make wild merriments of various kinds. People of the locality believe that the act of feeding the *Qāšids* during *Muharram* time is a virtuous and religious duty and as such they try to perform it to the best of their ability.

None of these practices can be recognized as Islāmic : making of *Ta'ziāhs*, models of horses and men, offerings of flowers

and garlands, playing of music along with processions, pouring of waters at the feet of horses and the act of immersing *Ta'ziah*s or leaving them at a certain place,—all these are simply the imitations of various religious practices in India. During the *Durgāpūjā* and other prominent Hindu festivals, Indian Hindus perform similar practices with much eclat and pomp. A clear Hindu mentality is visible when a Muslim salutes the *Ta'ziah*s and horses or models of horses and wound his body with weapons to show his unflinching devotion to a dead hero. In the vowing of *Muharram Qāṣids*, polytheism has undoubtedly triumphed over Islām.

(ii) *Shab-i-barāt* ( Arabic. *Laylatu-l-barāt* ): The night of the fourteenth day of the lunar month of *ṣha'bān* is recognized as the time of this festival. It is one of the non-*Shab-i-barāt*. ceremonious festivals of Islām; but the Muslims of Bengal, being forgetful of its pristine Islāmic character, observe it with the performance of ceremonies steeped with the influence of local environment. Like the *Diwālī* or *Kālīpūjā* of the Hindus, the Muslims illuminate their houses this night with candles and earthen lamps and when asked its reason, they say,—ghosts of the deceased relations ( like the Hindu *pitris* or forefathers ) come to visit their houses, with a view to see whether their living relatives are praying for the benefit of the souls of the deceased. Hence they illuminate their houses in order to welcome the advent of their deceased relatives, and recite some verses of the *Qurān* for the spiritual benefit of the dead.

In some parts of Bengal fire-works are burnt as a necessary concomitant of the *Shab-i-barāt* celebration. At Qāziparā under the jurisdiction of Bārāsāt subdivision of 24-Parganahs and in the town of Dacca and Chittagong, fireworks are generally let off by the Muslims in the night of *Shab-i-barāt*. But, nowhere in Bengal this is done so wildly and with lavish expenditure as is done by the Muslims of Chittagong town and its neighbouring villages. From at least a month before, they make preparations and at the dead of festival night, they gather together on the Parade Ground ( now College Ground ) lying in the northern part of the

town for making wild revels by holding competition among different groups, of burning fireworks of dangerous and explosive nature.

However, the *Snab-i-barāt* celebration in the villages and in some towns, such as Pābna and Bogra, of Bengal are generally performed in the manner described in the following rhyme :

“আলাম্‌তারা কাযফা ফায়ালা,

এই রাতে কি চেরাগ জ্বালা ?

পিটে দিও খান কুড়ি, হালুয়া দিও জেয়াদা।”

“Ālamtarā Kayfa fāyālā,

Ei rāte ki cherāg-jvālā ?

Pite di-o Khān Kuḍi, hāluyā di-o zeyādā.”

“The recitation of the Qurānic verse — *alam tarā Kayfa fa’la*—is being heard. Is this the night in which earthen lamps are to be burnt ? Please offer some twenty rice-cakes (to a beggar or a priest who is invoking the blessings of God on the deceased relatives), but offer *hālūā* (a kind of sweet pudding) to him (i.e. the beggar or the priest) in large quantity”.

(iii) *Fātiḥa-i-duwāz dahum* :- This festival takes place on the twelfth of the lunar month of *Rabī’u-’l-Awwal*. On this day, the Prophet was born and he died on this day also. *Fātiḥa-i-duwāz dahum*. It is, therefore, considered by the Muslims a very sanctified day, in which they recollect the sacred memory of the Prophet.

In Bengal, the festival is generally celebrated by the arrangement of *Milād* parties, where the fictitious birth-stories of the Prophet Muḥammad almost similar to the birth stories of Kṛiṣṇa or some other Hindu gods are generally told to the audience by a *Mulla* or a half-educated *Mawlawī* who himself does not know the life and career of the Prophet. The theme of *Milād* begins from the narration of the Prophet’s conception in his mother’s womb and ends with his birth. In this connection, such fictitious stories are told as no rational man can believe. It is needless to say that in the narration of these stories decency is lamentably violated and historicity of the Prophet’s career is disgracefully disregarded. People are taught to believe that the Prophet presents

himself in spirit in such parties, and this is why, when the *Mullā* finishes his narration with the birth of the Prophet, the audience stand up from their seats to honour the spirit of the Prophet and hail him in chorus. This function undoubtedly betrays the Muslims by a manifestation of their idolatrous mentality latent in them.

After the short function of a *Milād*, other functions follow. In many of these functions un-Islāmic (in the orthodox sense) acts are done in the name of Islām itself. Among these functions, holding of a regular musical party where *Ghazals* are sung by the prominent *Qawwāls* or *Ghazal-singers*, may be mentioned here. The main theme of these *Ghazals* is to eulogize the Prophet in the most extravagant terms often giving him an identical place with God. All the audience relish these songs enthusiastically without a murmur of dissent, as if they are enjoying the recitations from the *Qurān*.

(iv) *Madārī* festival :- This is not a national but a local festival, generally celebrated by the Muslims of Pābna, Bogra, Dinājpur, Rājshāhi, Calcutta, and Farīdpur, in honour of the great Indian saint Badī 'u- d-Dīn Shāh-i-Madār (1315-1436). Though it is ordinarily held during the latter part of the Bengali month of *Chaitra* (March and April), it is more *Madārī* festival. an irregular festival than a regular one. When any kind of epidemic breaks out in the above localities, people celebrate this festival with pomp and eclat, in the hope of dispelling of the epidemic through the blessings of Shāh-i-Madār in whose honour the festival is held.

This festival is celebrated by the demonstration of *Madārer Bāñs* or the bamboo of Madār, and of *Madārī Jhāñṭā* or the standard of Madār. People go out in procession accompanied with music carrying a big standard in front of the procession. They dance and scream almost like mad men, and lead their procession through the main roads and streets of the town and villages, asking and receiving alms indiscriminately from Hindus and Muslims. The procession is generally organised in the following manner : In front of the procession, a big standard which is



called *Madārī Jhāṇṭā* is carried by two or more men followed by a number of men bearing long bamboos, called *Madārer Bāṅs*, on the top of which a *chowry* (i. e. a tuft of hair-like things) symbolising the beard of *Shāh-i-Madār*, is tied up. People silently follow the standard and bamboo-bearers. The processionists collect a fund to be spent in the preparation of *Shīrnī* in honour of *Shāh-i-Madār*. It is believed that this *Shīrnī* has the efficacy of medicines that can prevent an epidemic.

### C.

#### Belief of the Bengali Muslims in Hindu deities and practices connected with them.

Uncultured and low-class Muslim masses of Bengal still stick to many polytheistic beliefs and perform many Hindu practices. Some of these which are mainly connected with Muslim beliefs and practices have already been described and pointed out. Here we like to note down a few prominent pure Hindu beliefs and practices (*Shirk*) in Hindu found in different parts of Bengal among her deities, Muslim inhabitants. 'The old gods never die. These beliefs reveal their true heart and speak of their Hindu origin. That, the Muslim masses of Bengal though changed their old religion could not clear off of old culture and faith, is proved beyond doubt by the retention of such beliefs in the heart of the Bengali Muslim'. Among these beliefs and practices connected with them (i. e. the Bengali Muslims), the following few may be noted :

- (i) *Śiva* : *Śiva* is one of the Pauranic Hindu gods, who receives homage from a section of the Muslim masses of Bengal. There is a temple of *Śiva* called *Ghataśvara* in the village of Mahānād in Hughli. The Muslims of this locality give votive offerings to that deity through the agency of priests of the temple for curative purposes. In the Temple of Tārakeśvara in Hughli, many Muslims give liberal offerings for the fulfilment of their various vows. The image

of *Tarakeśwara* is the image of *Śiva* and it is said that one Mukunda Ghose discovered it in a miraculous way and then installed it in the present temple. During the month of *Chaitra* (April and May) a fair called '*Chaitan Maithun Mela*' is held at Gaibāndhā in the Rangpur district on Sundays and Thursdays, in honour of *Śiva*. Barren Muslim women of the common-folk attend that fair and give offerings at the temple in the hope of sons to be born to them.

Muslim belief in *Śiva* is further strengthened by a popular belief that there is a *Śiva* image in Mecca, called *Makkeśvara Śiva* (lit. *Śiva*, the Lord of Mecca).<sup>1</sup> This belief is still to be found among the illiterate Muslims of West Bengal and Pābna and Bogra districts. The belief consists in this that a stone image (*linga*) of *Śiva* still exists in Mecca, at which the Muslim pilgrims throw stones as a mark of disrespect to the god *Śiva*. There is a very funny story in connection with the residence of *Śiva* in Mecca under an alien influence and in an ignominious state. There are several versions of this story and slight difference in details are found in the various versions. The most popular version of this story is quoted below :

While Haḍrat 'Alī (according to another version it is the Prophet himself), the greatest hero of Islām, came out from Arabia to stretch out his victorious arms to the East, and to propagate his faith at the point of sword (?) among the unbelievers, he reached Bengal, conquered the country, converted the people to Islām and made the life of the Hindus intolerable by his religious persecution. It was a very critical time for the Hindus who could not withstand him to save their religion and national prestige. In such a perilous situation, they prayed as usual to *Śiva*, the fountain head of all power, to appear before them and help them against the religious aggression of the Muslims. *Śiva* being *Aśutoṣa* (one who is easily pleased) appeared before his votaries

1. First of all, I heard about the existence of this *Śiva* from an old Hindu gentleman, now (1932) about 70 years old. Then I verified his statement with the statement of certain Muslim villagers of different parts of Bengal.

and promised them to destroy the Muslims. After this he acted accordingly and the Muslims saw that they could not now molest the Hindus owing to the help of Śīva. So they tried to please Śīva by giving offerings to him. Śīva, being *Aḡutoṣa* again took the side of the Muslims and promised them to live at Mecca. Again the Hindus sought his help. This time, Śīva arranged for a conciliation between the Hindus and the Muslims with a promise to the people of both the communities that he would live both in Mecca and Kailāsa. From this time onward, Śīva has been living in these two places, and at the interval of a *Yuga* ( a period of twelve years ) a Bengali *Sannyāsī* ( Hindu ascetic ) goes to Mecca in disguise and give offerings to *Makkeśvara* Śīva stealthily at the dead of night. But the Muslims do not like him, as he is originally a Hindu deity and hence they throw stones at him when they go on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The Muslim belief in *Makkeśvara* Śīva is easy to be accounted for. The pre-Islāmic practice of throwing stones at a certain place near Mecca ( *Arfāt* valley ) is still observed by the Muslim pilgrims of all countries. Illiterate Bengali Muslims who go there and observe the practice, cannot account for the throwing of stones at that place, where a block of stone resembling a pillar, and looking from a distance like a *Śīva linga* with which Bengali Muslims are familiar, still remains as a relic of the ancient tradition. When these men return to their native land, they try to account for the practice by the narration of above fictitious story among their fellows. They know that everything associated with any god or goddess should be decried in every possible way, and hence when they try to give interpretation to the stone-throwing practice of Mecca, they attribute it to their religious zeal for showing disrespect to the Hindu god Śīva. Incidentally, in a curious way the latent iconoclastic zeal of a Muslim zealot is satisfied at the idea that it was a religious practice at Mecca to shy stones at a Hindu image.

( ii ) *Lakṣmi* :- She is the Pauranic goddess of fortune, prosperity and wealth, who receives homage from many uncultured and unadvanced Muslims of Bengal. They believe in her Hindu

conception, and have faith in her propitiation by giving offerings, singing hymns, and following many other local Lakṣmī. customs of similar nature.

In one sense, Lakṣmī may be said to be the agricultural goddess adored by the peasantry of Bengal - both Hindu and Muslim. Belief in her mainly consists in the conception of her being the harvest deity, who is commonly invoked just on the eve of harvesting times in the rural areas. Muslim mendicants of itinerant character sing songs of Lakṣmī during this time. Both Hindu and Muslim peasants give alms to these mendicants. The songs they sing are generally addressed to Viṣṇu by his consort Lakṣmī, in connection with domestic duties of a good wife to her husband.<sup>1</sup> The influence of Lakṣmī on the Muslims has been traced even in the far-eastern islands : "The Buddhist and Hindu converts to Islām in the Island of Jāvā are allowed to perform the worship of Lakṣmī with all the devotion of a pious Hindu".<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the whole country, Muslim peasants recite doggerels in chorus invoking Lakṣmī for her blessings, and they use them as incantations against the pest of paddy. The following doggerel is commonly heard from the mouths of West Bengal peasants :-

“আশ্বিন যায় কাতিক আসে,  
মা লক্ষ্মী গর্ভে বসে,  
সাধ খাও সে বর দ্যাও সে,  
ক্ষেতের পোকা-মাকড় দূর যা—  
হো, হো, হো !

Āśvin jay, Kārtik ase ;  
Mā Lakṣmī garbhe vase ;  
Sād<sup>h</sup> khāo se, var dyāo se,  
Kṣeter pokā-mākaḍ dūr jā,  
Ho, Ho, Ho !”

1. *Folk Literature of Bengal*,—Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, pp. 85-86
2. *op. cit.*, p. 56.

Month of *Āśvin* passes and *Kārtic* comes :

Mother *Lakṣmī* resides in the ear of corn ;

O mother ! accept our offer of *Sādh* ( presentation of  
delicacies to a pregnant woman ) and grant us  
a boon :

Away, O pest of paddy ! away from my field :

Ho, Ho, Ho, !

The low class *Nāgārāhī* ( Ar. *Naqqārah-āhī* ) or Muslim drummer class of Farīdpūr believe in *Lakṣmī* as a goddess of wealth and vow *śhīrnī* in her name for a grant of abundance in their wealth. Only a few years ago, many Muslims of Mymensing district use to wash their pots and mattresses on *Lakṣmīpūjā* day.<sup>1</sup>

The Hindu festival of *Kojāgar*, which takes place in the night of full-moon in the Bengali month of *Āśvin* ( September and October ) is a special festive night for both Hindus and Muslims. It is a common belief that those who pass sleepless night on this occasion are specially favoured by the goddess *Lakṣmī*. Being unable to keep a wakeful night without an engagement, young-men of both Muslim and Hindu communities generally indulge in pilfering eatable things of their neighbours, who too in their turn remain vigilant for the whole night to watch over their things. In this way, all remain wakeful in the *Kojāgar* night—some as guards and some as pilferers,—in the hope of gaining favour from *Lakṣmī*.

( iii ) *Manasā* : *Manasā* ( the goddess of snake ) is one of those Hindu goddesses who is purely of local origin. She is propitiated by the Hindus for their personal safety from the snake-bite. The *Manasā cult* of the Hindus was

*Manasā* once so very popular in Bengal that a vast literature of this cult is still existing, which grew round the legend of *Behulā*. The *Bhāsān Yātrā* festival of the Hindus, in which a large number of the Muslims of East and North Bengal actively take part, is still annually held to commemorate the *Behulā* legend. Songs on *Manasā Devī* are still sung by the professional Muslim minstrels on this festive occasion. Most

1. Bengal District Gazetteer=Mymensing 1917, p. 36.

of the *Ojhās* (exorcists), who pretend to cure snake-bites are Muslims. These Muslim exorcists often recite *Mantras* or charms so replete with the names of Hindu gods and goddesses, to cure a patient. One of these *Mantras* runs as follows :

“হস্ত সারম, গলা সারম, আর সারম মুখ ।  
শেট, পিঠ, চরণ সারম, আর সারম বুক ॥  
আগা পাছার বিষ-সারম মনসার বরে ।  
লক্ষ লক্ষ বাণ তার কি করিতে পারে ॥  
কাঁউরের কামাখ্যাদেবী দিয়া গেল বর ।  
বালির বিন্দু রাজা বলে অমুক হৈল অমর ॥”

Translation :

“Hands I heal, throat I heal, and I heal the mouth.  
Belly, back and feet I heal, and I heal the thorax.  
Poison from head to foot I remove through the blessings of  
Manasā’

Lakhs of venomous shafts can do him no harm.  
Goddess Kāmakhyā of Kāmrūpa granted me a boon ;  
King Bind of Bālī says—so and so conquers death.”

In this way, Muslim exorcists of Bengal invoke Hindu gods and goddesses to cure snake-bites. “From generations to generations these *Ojhās* have been practitioners of this art. They no doubt sprang from the Hindu and Buddhist families and did not, after they were converted to Muhammadan faith, give up a calling which had been a source of their maintenance from remote times”.<sup>1</sup>

At Mansātalā, Kidderpore, Calcutta, lies a Manasā temple, and the Muslims of the locality used to contribute pice, rice, sweets etc. for the worship of the goddess Manasā, before the last Hindu-Muslim riot in Calcutta in the year 1926.

All these facts go to prove that the influence of Manasā on the Muslim masses of Bengal was and is still an extensive one

1- *Folk Literature of Bengal*,—Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, pp. 86-94.

(iv) *Śitala* : *Śitalā* or goddess of small-pox is another local deity who is sometimes worshipped by many Muslims openly and sometimes in secret, and again sometimes personally and sometimes through a representative. When small-pox breaks out in an epidemic form superstitious Muslims generally place a *Ghat* ( or an earthen pitcher full of water as substitute for an idol to be worshipped ) before the gate of their houses and hang a black bottle spotted with lime beside the gate. A few Muslims of Kidderpore, Calcutta, still reverentially contribute to the fund, collected for the worship of *Śitalā*. Both Muslims and Hindus of the village of *Tālāgu* in the district of Midnapur, worship the local *Śitalā* deity called *Tālāguvāsini*.<sup>1</sup>

(v) *Ola Bibi* : *Olā Bibī* ( sometimes known by the Arabic name '*Wabā*' meaning a plague or pestilence ) is purely a Muslim deity in the sense that no such similar deity in India

(v) *Olā Bibī* or Bengal is found to represent cholera. The only specific Bengali word *Olāuṭhā* ( *olā*=to come down and *uṭhā*=to go up=*Olāuṭhā* means 'Cholera' because the patient passes stools and vomits ) for Cholera simply indicates the influence of the Muslims on the original inhabitants of Bengal. Most probably *Wabā* of the Arabs, used as a generic name for all kinds of epidemic disease including of course Cholera, was turned into *Olā* with the association of supposed Cholera deity, in Bengal.

However, when Cholera breaks out in certain localities of Chittagong and Noakhālī, this deity is propitiated by the *Mullas* or Muslim priests. Goats of entirely one colour ( generally black ones ) are sacrificed on a spot situated at the middle of Cholera-affected locality and their meat, after being cooked and spiced, is proportionately distributed to all families of the locality. On the outskirts of the affected area small flags of white cloth, - verses of the Qurān or some incantations couched in Arabic

1. *Bharatbarsiya Upasak Sampradaya*, Edn. II,—Akṣay Kumar Datta, vide 'foot-note', p. 30.

written on them, - are generally hung up by the road-side, it is a common belief that an area, thus protected, is safe from *Olāughā*. This fact is based on my own experience.

In the district of Howrah, "Ola Bibi, or as Hindus prefer to call her 'Olāi Chandī' is propitiated in an epidemic of Cholera, chiefly by low-caste Hindus or Muhammadans from whom the priests are recruited. A number of these men beg from door to door, gather rice and pice and then go to her shrine. She is usually represented by a water-jar under a 'Nim' tree (*Melia Azidarachta*). Rice, sweets and fruits are offered and goats are sacrificed. After the *Pūjā* is concluded, the people return home playing on the 'dhol' (drum) and singing songs. The employment of a Mahammadan as priest is peculiar".<sup>1</sup>

In the district of Rangpur, Muslims contribute to the fund collected by the Hindus for the worship of *Olā Bibī*. Besides, they themselves take many precautionary measures for their safety from Cholera, called *Wabā* or *Olā*, and among these measures, hanging of flags by the road-side, distribution of spelled sands among the people of the locality, and the sacrifice of one coloured goats are very common. This information has been gathered from the people of the locality.

Besides these local variation of methods employed for propitiating *Olā Bibī*, it is believed by all classes of Muslims that Cholera is a disease controlled by the female deity *Olā* or *Wabā* and that she can be dispelled by charms and incantations.

(vi) *Sasthi* : *Ṣaṣṭhī* is a Hindu goddess who presides over children's welfare on the sixth day of their birth. Belief in this deity is common among a large section of the Muslim masses of Bengal. Just like the Hindus, they believe that on the sixth day of a child's birth, *Vidhātā Puruṣa* (the Creator, who determines the future of a child) comes down to write out the future welfare of children on their brows. Hence, they keep everything ready for his welcome. The lying-in-room is kept lighted for the whole night. The mother of the baby with other relatives keeps

1. Bengal District Gazetteer—Howrah, p. 46.



wakeful night, in expectation of the invisible advent of *Vidhātā Puruṣa* and *Ṣaqqhī*. A pen and an ink-pot are kept ready so that *Vidhātā Puruṣa* may not be put into any difficulty for want of writing materials.

(vii) *Brahma Daitya* : The Hindus believe in *Brahma Daitya* or the ghost of a deceased Brahmin. They say - this ghost possesses wonderful power and if a man can once bring it under his control, he can do many impossible acts with the help of this ghost. In different parts of Northern Bengal, *Brahma Daitya*, there is a specific class of Muslims who are known by the name of *Brahma Daitya Faqīr*.<sup>1</sup> Though by name, they are Musalmāns, they do not seem to be so, especially when a man marks their beliefs and practices. They declare that the ghost *Brahma Daitya* is under their control and when with necessary rituals and offerings (all of which belong to Hinduism), it is called, it invisibly presents itself through the medium of a man and does the act for which it is called. Generally in the case of insanity, involvement in law suits, and loss of valuable things, these *Faqīrs* are consulted to devise means and ways for the desired success. The *Faqīr* when called, prepares for a regular *pūjā* at the expense of the man who consults him and cause the ghost to present through the medium of a man. When the ghost comes, the medium loses his sense and in the state of swoon he answers to the questions put by the *Faqīr* in connection with his business. This practice is known in North Bengal as *Āsān Karā*. A practice exactly similar to this, is still prevalent in some parts of Chittagong division and it is called *Gāchā Basān* or the installation of *Gāchā*. In the district of Birbhūm, this practice goes by the name of *Brahma Daitya Bhar*.<sup>2</sup>

(viii) *Bhut-perete Biśvās* Belief in Spirits : Belief in both good and evil spirits is a very common faith with the Muslims of Bengal.

1. Bengal District Gazetteer=Rajshahi, 1916. p. 66.

2. Bengal District Gazetteer=Birbhūm, 1910. p. 33.

Puritanic Muslims identify the spirits with *Jinns* referred to in the *Qurān*. But the connotation of the Qurānic word *Jinn* does not, in any way, subscribe to spirit-conception of the Bengali Muslims.<sup>1</sup> They believe in spirit in pure local and non-Islamic sense of the term, which is *Bhūt*, *Pret*, *Deo* or *Parī*. Although all these words mean spirit in the generic sense, yet they have different connotations, as for example, *Bhūts* are wayward, ugly, idiotic and harmful spirits : *Prets* are not very harmful to grown-up men, but so to the young children whom they always try to beguile ; they are the most unclean spirits generally living in dirty places ; *Deos* are ferocious, fearful, and dangerous spirits ; *Parīs* are the beautiful feminine spirits who beguile women only.

*Bhūts* are of many kinds, such as *Māmdo* ( i.e. the ghost of a Muslim ), *Skandha-Kāṭā* ( i.e. the neckless one ), *Tepathā* ( i.e. one living on the confluence of three paths ) etc., etc., and their activities are also multifarious. It is a common belief that these spirits can easily assume different forms in the twinkling of an eye.

Muslims of Bengal believe that *Bhūts* can be brought under control and can be employed as agents to do mischiefs to others. I have heard many stories ( not less than thirty ) from the Muslims of different parts of Bengal about the mischievous activities of *Bhūts*. Here is an account given by a Hindu gentleman in a prominent daily news-paper of Calcutta and their account exactly tallies with the accounts, I have heard from the Muslims :

1. As for the true interpretation of the Qurānic word *Jinn* vide the following verses and their explanatory notes given in the *Holy Qurān* by Mawlānā Muḥammad ‘Alī M. A. LL. B. :

Chapter VI, verse 129 foot-note No. 822 p.315.

Do LXXII, verse 1 „ „ 2580 pp. 1123-1134.

Do XV, verse 27 „ „ 1336. p. 526.

**Haunted Family.****To****The Editor,***Advance.***Sir,**

I want to describe a very surprising incident through your esteemed paper so that somebody may come to the rescue of a harassed family. For the last two months, the members of the family, residing at 4E, Rāmdhan Mitter Lane ( Shāmpukur ), Calcutta are having a most disagreeable experience. I give a list of their troubles, which, however, is not exhaustive :

(1) Night soil is thrown here and there in all rooms and the verandah of the house. This generally happened after the lights are extinguished ; the main switch is generally put out of action in these cases. Sometimes excreta is seen in food-stuff and water inside a locked room.

(2) Bricks and brick-bats are thrown here and there, but missile is thrown at any one. Only on one occasion the housedog was hit.

(3) Doors of the lavatory and the bathroom are sometimes opened and sometimes shut up. They are closed so tight that they cannot be opened by physical force, but on a polite request being made to the unseen, doors open themselves.

(4) Sweets and food whether cooked or uncooked are often found missing even from locked up rooms.

(5) Electric bulbs are broken, and the broken particles are conveyed to distant places.

(6) Sometimes shoes move about in the air and once one such shoe was caught hold of and thrown outside. Instead of falling on the ground it struck with unusual force on the back of the person who threw it.

(7) Bones possibly of human being are thrown.

(8) Kerosene bottles, phenyle bottles and other things from unknown places are thrown on the verandah.

(9) The most interesting thing to notice is that the evil-dog appear in the shape of a young member of either sex of the

family and loiters here and there doing mischief while the real person is either taking food or reading books or sleeping at the time.

These are some of the acts which trouble the poor family. Up till now no "*Rojhā*" (i.e. *Ojhā* 'exorcist') has been able to bring any relief.

Under a misunderstanding the family at first doubted their neighbours and changed the house, but the trouble has increased in the present house which is bound by wall on all sides. The sky even is not visible from any part of the flat.

The family is tired of following the advice of visitors who ask them to do this or that but all to no avail.

Calcutta,  
21-1-32.

Yours faithfully,  
S. Gupta.

Such notion of or belief in spirits is guiding Bengali Muslims in their daily life, and hence we hear them say—on such and such tree of such and such locality lives a *Bhūt* which possesses two dreadful burning eyes on the chest and harasses or kills men, when opportunity comes. Influence of *Bhūt* on men or women, infants or boys, is widely believed by the Muslim inhabitants of different parts of Bengal. We like to cite only one instance here. When a woman is attacked with hysteria accompanied with all symptoms of regular delirium, many Muslims do not like to call on a good physician, in place of whom they send for an *Ojhā* (exorcist), mostly Muhammadan, under the impression that the woman is not suffering from any malady but from the evil influence (*Āthar*) of a spirit which none but an *Ojhā* can expel. Again, when a will-o'-the-wisp is seen on a marshy land or a *Śmaśān* (a place where Hindu dead bodies are burnt) in the night, none dares approach it for fear of being attacked by the *Bhūt*, who, it is believed, sends forth flames of fire from his mouth.

## D

**Hindu and other indigenous social practices found  
among the Bengali Muslims.**

These are innumerable. Even a brief account of these is impossible to be given here. Only a few prominent features are noted below for the sake of general information.

(i) Social divisions : Any division in the social rank of the Muslims is unknown to Islām. Though in theory and in religious practices, no social distinction is made by the Muslims of Bengal, yet in all social matters, such as marriage, feasts, etc., the question of social status does receive prominence. The two great general social divisions of the Bengali Muslims are the *Ashrāfs* and *Atrāfs*, the former term indicating the "high castes" and latter, "low-castes". The *Ashrāfs* claim descent from the immigrant Muslims and in most cases, this is perhaps justified. They form the aristocracy ; but in blood, (as the foreign Muslims took wives from the land) they have no or little difference from the local people. Moreover, Muslim descendants of Rajputs and Brahmins had no difficulty in merging into the *Ashrāfs*. The line of demarcation between these two great sections of the Bengali Muslims is so very prominent that it is exactly parallel to the line of demarcation existing between the two great sections of the Hindu community, viz., *Dvija* the Twice-born ones, and *Sudra* the Low-caste ones. The *Dvija* class includes the three high castes, viz., *Brahman*, *Ksatriya* *Vaisya* of the Hindus just as the *Ashrāf* class includes the three high classes, viz., Sayyid, Pathan and Mughal of the Bengali Muslims. The *Shaykhs* or *Atrāfs* are generally supposed to be the Muslims of low social status, just as the *Sūdras* of the Hindus. Inter-marriage, inter-dinner, and other inter-social matters are commonly found among the *Ashrāfs* only, but they are rare phenomena between the *Ashrāfs* and the *Atrāfs*. Now it is easy to see how the four divisions of the Hindu castes have exerted their influence on the Muslims of Bengal.

(ii) Nuptial practices : A Muslim marriage is one of the most unceremonious and simple social institutions of Islām. It is neither a pure idealistic form of union between two persons of different sex, nor a pure contract formed between Nuptial practices, a man and a woman, but it is a mean between these two extremes. Fundamental principles of an Islāmic form of marriages are :

(a) A mutual consent ( expressed in the presence of two full-grown males, or three full-grown females ) of two full-grown persons of different sex desirous of being united with each other by the marriage tie.

(b) A fixation of *Mahar* or dower not less than ten *Dirhams* (money-value of which does not exceed rupees ten ), as a mark of respect of the husband for his wife.

Besides these principles and the practices arising directly out of them, any other principle followed or practice observed by the Muslims, is purely un-Islāmic and later additions to Islām. In Bengal, Islāmic principles and practices of marriage have been so wonderfully altered that they have altogether become un-Islāmic.

Firstly, Bengali Muslims do not like to see their full-grown daughters in their houses. If a daughter attains puberty in her father's house, her parents deem it a great object of social shame and humiliation. Hence before the attainment of majority, daughters are generally married. This custom of marriage before the attainment of maturity<sup>1</sup> is Influence of *Gaurīdān* on the Muslim marriage- either an imitation or continuation of the medi-aeval Hindu custom of *Gaurīdān* or child-marriage. Again, no Muslim father of Bengal considers it necessary to consult his daughter-whether major or minor,—about her marriage ; consequently her consent, which is essential to an

1. It should be noted here that Islam allows girls to be married before the attainment of puberty not on their own consent but on the consent of their legal guardians. But this allowance is a case of exception and not a case of general rule. Islam only allows orphan, helpless and poor girls to be married in their infancy for their proper maintenance and not for discharging the duties of a wife.

Islāmic marriage has been reduced to a formality of silence as a sign of consent. Owing to such state of affairs in the society, if any girl expresses her opinion on her contemplated or proposed marriage, she is described and condemned as a cheeky girl of impertinent manners.

Secondly, the Hindu *Paṇa Prathā* or the custom of nuptial dowry of a big sum, is still prevalent among the Bengali Muslims. If the father of a Muslim girl likes to give his daughter in marriage to a youth of higher social status, or if the father of a Muslim youth intends to marry his son to a girl of higher social order, a big sum as dowry is generally offered by one party to the other as if it is a compensation of the loss of social prestige.

Thirdly, though no ban has been imposed by any religious injunction of Islām on the remarriage of Muslim widows, the *Ashrāf* class of the Bengali Muslim marriage of widows, generally think it beneath their aristocratic dignity to remarry their widows. This is purely a blind imitation of the Hindu custom.

Fourthly, in almost all parts of Bengal, illiterate Muslims install a pair of water-jars with two green coconuts surrounded with foliages of mangoe-tree over their tops at the gates of their houses during the time of a marriage. These water-jars symbolise auspiciousness of the occasion and is generally called *Ghaṭ* i. e. pitcher or *Mangal Kalas* i. e. the auspicious pitcher. Undoubtedly this *Ghaṭ* of the Muslims is a counterpart of the *Mangal Ghaṭ*s of their non-Muslim neighbours who install them on ceremonious occasions as a symbol of auspiciousness.

Fifthly, just a few days before the marriage, the Muslim masses of Bengal observe a ceremony called *Halud Kuṭān* or *Halud Mākhān*. This ceremony consists in washing of the bride by water mixed with turmeric. Married women (Eyotī < Āyusmatī) gather on this occasion in the houses of the bride, and along with the recitation of feminine doggerels and witty songs—many of them verging on the obscenity—the bride is washed and dressed with new clothes.

This *Halud Kuṭān* custom is also widely prevalent among the Hindus who call it the custom of *Gātra Haridrā* or *Gāye Halud*. In connection with this ceremony, a peculiar custom called *Phurul Dubāna* is widely observed by the lowclass Muslims of Rangpur and its neighbouring districts. Five *Eyotīs* or women whose husbands are living become active members *Phurul Dubāna* of *Phurul Dubāna*. Just before the ceremony of *Halud Kuṭān*, these five women make preparation for *Phurul Dubāna* in the following process : Certain quantity of rice, a few *Dūrvā* grass ( *panicum dactylon* ) one or two pieces of turmeric, and a certain number of lighted earthen lamps are put on a new winnowing fan, which is then carried by those selected five women to a pond or a pool or a river for immersion.

In north Bengal ( *Pābna*, *Bogra*, *Rājshāhī*, *Rangpur* and in the districts of *Ndiyā* and some parts of *Jessore*, ) Muslim masses observe another custom called *Thubre Khāoyā* or *Āibuḍu Bhāt* “*Āibuḍu Bhāt*” only a day or two after or before or *Halud Kuṭān*. Both bride and bridegroom are *Thubre Khāoyā*. invited by their respective near relatives to dine at their houses. Unmarried girls are generally allowed to dine with the bride actuated by the faith that those unmarried girls who dine with the bride will no more remain *Āibuḍu* or unmarried for a long time. A pair of red-bordered *Śaṇī* is sometimes presented to the bride on such occasion. If this dinner for the bride and bridegroom is arranged after the performance of *Halud Kuṭān* ceremony, no fish-curry is allowed and if it is arranged before the *Halud Kuṭān* no meat is allowed.

Sixthly, very few Muslim marriages are celebrated in Bengal without music, amusements and grand feasts. This often entails such expenditure on the parties concerned that they are reduced to abject poverty within a short time. Again, a dower is fictitiously fixed in most cases at a sum amounting to one thousand to one lakh, which the husband never pays to his wife. In this way, the dower of a Muslim marriage so essential for the validity of a marriage has turned into a religious injunction of back date.



Seventhly, when a Muslim bride is brought to the house of her husband, she is not all at once allowed to enter the house. Women generally *Sadhavās* or having husbands alive gather together to give her a reception, the manner of which is different in various localities of Bengal. In some places, *Vadhū Varāṇ* it exactly resembles the Hindu custom of *Vadhū Varāṇ* reception to a bride. A day or two after the arrival of bride to her husband's house, a dainty feast is generally given to the women related to the bridegroom. It is the custom that in this feast the women are required to dine with the bride. If the bride happens to come of a family of lower social status than her husband's one, other women often refuse to partake with the feast in the company of the bride.

Eighthly, along with the establishment of a marriage, a happy relation of right for making a joke with certain members of both bride and bridegroom's family is automatically established. *Nanada* and *Devāra* i. e. the younger sisters and brothers of bridegroom become the inmate friends of the bride and they cut all kinds of joke with their *Nanad* sister-in-law. Similarly *Śyālaka* and *Śyālīka* or the younger brothers and sisters of wife are the close companions of the husband, with whom he can jest familiarly. How far these customary relations growing out of wedlock, is an Islāmic one, we do not know.

Besides these marriage customs and practices of more or less universal character, there are hundreds of minor and local importance ; such as, the Muslim cultivators on the borders of *Rājshāhī* and *Dinājpur*, do not strictly conform to the Islāmic limit of four marriages at a time. They marry as many wives as they can afford. "During marriage ceremonies, a sort of *Pūjā* called '*Mangal Chand-jay*' is observed" by many superstitious Muslims of *Rājshāhī* district. "Pictures are painted on the walls ; milk, plantains and *Sindūr* ( or vermillion ) are placed on the floor, incense is burnt and women sing throughout the night from evening to morning. The general belief is that such a ceremony brings

'Mangal' or good fortune to the bride and bridegroom".<sup>1</sup> In a great many localities of Bengal Muslims, even of the better classes sometimes allow their womenfolk to wear the streak of vermillion on their foreheads as a sign of the *Sādḥavā* or the women with her husband living. In the district of Pābna and some parts of the districts of Bogra and Rājshāhi, there is a piculiar custom of *Nanad Tepānī*, which consists in bringing some presents for *Nanads* (or the younger sisters of husband) from the father's house of the bride on the occasion of her first arrival at her husband's house. If the bride does not observe this custom, the *Nanads* non-co-operate with their sister-in-law.

A Muslim woman who is advanced in her pregnancy, is not allowed to go out of the room of her confinement lest she may fall under the influence of evil spirit. Even when she gives birth

to a child and becomes perfectly able to walk out-side the room, she is not allowed to go out. Fire Practices in connection with pregnancy, is always kept burning in her room and she is strictly ordered to hold something made of iron in her hand. In such case a bunch of keys is generally given which she always keeps with her. Fire and iron are viewed as protectives against the evil spirit or the evil eye.

When a woman is near her time, - generally on the seventh month of pregnancy, - the Hindus of Bengal give a feast to which only women are invited to take part. Amidst a customary noise of gerrulous women and jokes of usual and *Sādḥ Khāoyā* unusual nature, the feast is enjoyed by all in the company of the pregnant women. This ceremony is called *Sādḥ Khāoyā*. Exactly this ceremony is still observed by many Muslims of Bengal, who believe that when a woman is pregnant, she naturally desires to eat delicacies, and if she is not given to fulfil her desire on the seventh month, the issue will be a greedy one and from its mouth saliva will always come out as a sign of the unfulfilled desire of its mother.

(iii) Natal practices : Islāmic natal practices are neither too many nor pompous. They are as simple as Islām itself. On

1. Bengal District Gazetteers—Rajshahi, 1916, p.66).

the birth of a child, the baby is washed and the formula of *Adhān* is either loudly or slowly recited to its ears by way of baptism in Islām. On the fourteenth or twenty-first day of the child birth, a ceremony called *Aqīqah* is performed by the arrangement of a feast. The neighbours, friends and relatives of the parents are invited to it. Besides these (along with one or two minor ones) Islām does not recognize any other thing in connection with the birth of a child. Muslim parents of Bengal do many things quite unknown to Islām, in connection with child-birth, and here is only an incomplete picture of their doings.

All over Bengal, head of a Muslim baby is shaven on the sixth day of its birth and a small quantity of gold weighing equal to the weight of the child's shaven hair is given to the barber as his fee. In the evening of this day, a *Mullā* is called to name the baby. He generally comes with a copy of the *Qurān* bearing it under his armpit. The baby and an earthen lamp with seven wicks are kept before the *Mullā*, who lights each of the wicks successively as he opens the *Qurān* each time to invent a name with the first letter of any verse he likes, or as suggestions of names from amongst the present go on one after another. When all the wicks are lighted, naturally some of them do not burn while others burn brightly. The wick which burns up to the last and with glow, is chosen as the name, it represents.

Only for an aesthetic purpose, a Muslim Bengali mother often prefers to use *Kājal* or *Anjan* (a kind of indigenous collyrium) in the eyes and eye-brows of her baby in place of *Surmah* or the usual Persian and Arab collyrium of the Muslims.

In the district of Rājshāhī when a child falls ill, the *Padma Purān* which narrates the legend of Manasā, is generally recited in the hope that such an un-Islāmic practice may ultimately lead to the child's recovery.<sup>1</sup>

Almost all illiterate Muslims of rural areas allow their young children to wear a garland of specific herbs and amulets as a protection against the influence of evil spirits.

1. Bengal District Gazetteers—Rajshahi, 1916, p. 66.

In Chittagong and its neighbouring districts, when a child is attacked with epileptic fits, people call his disease a *Mātri*, believed to be the effect of the influence of some evil spirit, and they call on Muslim *Ojhās* for the thaumaturgic treatment of the patient. The spells and incantations uttered by the Muslim *Ojhās* are commonly called *Narasinger Jhāḍā* or the spells of *Narasing*, a Hindu god or godling. In West Bengal, *Mātri* disease of children is called *Peḥoy Pāoyā* i. e. the child has been influenced by the evil spirit *Peḥo*. West Bengal Muslims too take the help of *Ojhā* in such cases.

In some parts of Central Bengal, superstitious Muslims believe in a peculiar Hindu practice in connection with infantile death. In order to prevent such death, when an infant is born, he is formally sold to somebody in exchange of one, three, five or seven *Kauḍis* and again bought from the buyer by the parents in exchange of the same sum. It is said and believed that such a barter can conquer premature death of children. This is why some Muslims are sometimes named *Tin Kauḍi*, *Pāñch Kauḍi*, and *Sāt Kauḍi* according to the number of *Kauḍis* exchanged.

Some twenty years back, superstitious Muslims of Rangpur used to cut off the little fingers of their dead infants, in order to verify whether the dead child is re-born. They believed that a dead child could be born again in new form.

(iv) Practices in connection with death : Many old practices are observed by the Muslims of Bengal in connection with death. Though they are not found in any religious code of Islām, yet they have wonderfully become a part and parcel of Islām in Bengal. Among a wild variety of these practices, the following prominent ones may be noted :

In many parts of Bengal, earthen vessels of kitchen and furniture of the house where a man dies, are thrown away just as the Hindus do in such cases. People do not generally touch a dead body and whoever touches it, never enters his house without a bath. It is widely believed that soul of a dead man sometimes turns into a *Bhūt* and haunts his favourite places. Such

transformed *Bhūts* are known as *Māmdo Bhūts* of whom we have already told.

On the fourth day of death, a *Phalāhār* or feast of fruits only is arranged by the relatives of the deceased. The ceremony is known as *Chārdinā*. After this a second ceremony takes place; it is called *Ruh Nikālanī* or the expulsion of soul of the deceased from his house. It is believed that the soul of the deceased remains in the house where he died, and lingers hovering round it causing death to others unless this ceremony is performed, within forty days of death. Being actuated by such belief the relatives of the deceased invite a *Mulla* to come to their house for expelling the soul on the appointed evening. Some articles of daily use and a complete suit of clothes are given to the *Mulla* as his fee. The *Molla* recites a few verses from the *Qurān*, a woman related to the deceased cries out and other male members of the family comes out of the house with lights in their hands. Then the *Mulla* comes out reciting verses from the *Qurān* and he is escorted up to a distance of forty cubits by all the male members of the family, who remain waiting outside. In this way, a soul is expelled from the house.

Then comes the question of *Challisā* or the ceremony of the fortieth day after a man's death. Though in certain parts of Bengal, the ceremony is performed before the completion of the fortieth day, yet in many localities the importance of the fortieth day has not yet been much reduced. On this day, a grand feast is served to a large number of guests invited previously, and some religious functions are held for the spiritual benefit of the departed. Excepting one or two religious functions, the ceremony appears to be an imitation of the *Srāddha* ceremony of the Hindus. It may also be the case (and I believe it is the case) that this is a cultural gift of Irān, I mean Persia, to the culture of Bengali Muslims who did not receive Islām directly from the Arabs, rather through the medium of the Iranians, who observe *Chihlum* ceremony on the fortieth day of mourning after the death of near and dear ones.

In some parts of Rangpur district, ignorant Muslims dread a death on the inauspicious last day of the Bengali month of *Pauṣ*.

(December and January). They call it an inauspicious *Pauṣ Sankranti* death. Their belief is that if anybody dies on this inauspicious day and is buried with *Kāfan* or shroud, the dead body eats his own shroud and as such, the number of death increases unexpectedly in the village. In order to prevent such deaths, they take off the shroud from the dead body when it is buried. It is further said that if this step is not taken, there is every apprehension of a devastation of the village by premature deaths. Such act of apprehended devastation is known as *Puskarā Lāgā*.

In many quarters of Bengal, Muslims as well as Hindu thieves believe that if the shroud of the dead buried on the *Amābasyā* (new-moon) and *Pūrnimā* (full moon) days, can be taken off from the buried men, and if such shrouds are placed on the house of men selected previously for burglary, the inmates of the house remain deep asleep like dead men. This belief actuates many thieves to take this vicious step of stealing shrouds at the dead of *Amābasyā* and *Pūrnimā* nights. This vicious practice was prevalent even in the past. A ballad, called the ballad of *Kāfan Chor* or the stealer of shroud has been published in the Eastern Bengal Ballad. This ballad depicts a good picture of the reformation of a *Kāfan Chor* and the tactics he used in connection with his vicious business.

Such is the picture of Popular Islām that grew up in Bengal after its introduction, mainly through the untiring proselytising efforts of the Darvishes. Undoubtedly it is a fact that un-Islāmic beliefs and practices surreptitiously crept into the fold of Semitic Islām through the agency of the converts; it is also equally true that even those, who were not converts, imitated many practices of their neighbours and were obliged to believe in certain local superstitions through the influence of their wives, they took in the land. Again, it should be borne in mind that a number of superstitions and practices connected with them, were brought to Bengal even by the immigrants of the countries like Irān Turān, Samarqand, Bukhārā and Afghānistān and afterwards these flourished luxuriantly in course of time on the soil of Bengal.

## Chapter XIII

### A brief survey of the Muslim Yoga Literature of Bengal

Like their Northern Indian predecessors, early Ṣūfīs of Bengal had their own records of thought enshrined in Persian, a language very difficult to be followed by the Muslim masses of Bengal during the seventeenth and subsequent centuries. One Muḥsin 'Alī, who flourished at a time not earlier than the eighteenth century A.D., gives us an explanation of his writing a small treatise on Ṣūfīistic subject in Bengali. He says that the masses of Muslim Bengal cannot follow the Ṣūfīistic subject already written in Persian. He, therefore, ventures to write his treatise in Bengali basing it mainly on the extent Persian treatises, books and pamphlets containing this '*ganj-rāj*' or secret science.<sup>1</sup>

From this it can easily be surmised that up to the seventeenth century A. D. Persian Ṣūfīistic literature was existing ; but people's interest in it was undoubtedly fast waning, as it was already becoming obsolete to make room for vernacular versions, which in the course of a short time altogether replaced the Persian ones. Along with the growth of vernacular literature on this subject, Persian literature was, in all probability, left totally uncared for, and presumably there were very few serious students to preserve the original Persian manuscripts for the posterity. Perhaps this is why the Persian Ṣūfīistic literature of the early Bengali Ṣūfīs is not now available.

1. “রেসালা কেতাব যত আর গঞ্জরাজ ।  
ষেমত দেখিলুম মুই এ সবেব মাঝ ॥  
ফারসী ভাষায় তাহা না বুঝে সর্বজন ।  
সকল বুঝিতে কৈলুম বাঙ্গালা রচন ॥”

( মুহসিন আলী )

( বাংলা প্রাচীন পুঁথির বিবরণ—আবদুল করিম, ১ম খণ্ড, পৃঃ ২৫১-২৫২ )

However, in view of the fact that some of the writers (whom we shall presently discuss) of vernacular literature on this subject, belonged to the seventeenth century A. D., the earliest time of the growth of this literature may be pushed back up to the middle of the sixteenth century A. D. It seems that during last half of the eighteenth century this literature became very popular not only among the Muslims but also among the Hindus. One Hindu writer named Keśab Rāy wrote a treatise entitled *Yoga Kalandar* (and not *Kalantak*, as it has been printed) almost similar to *Yoga Qalandar* of Sayyad Martuzā not only in name, but also in subject matter.<sup>1</sup> Another Hindu gentleman who signs his name as Śrī Utsava Ray Dasasya, copied the manuscript (-this is the oldest manuscript, I have as yet seen) of *Jnāna Pradīpa* composed by Sayyid Sulţān. (1587 A.D.) This shows that he copied it to preserve as a valuable book.

This literature is representative of a curious medley of Hindu and Muslim thoughts, ideas and practices that were in vogue during the latter part of the Mughal rule in this country. Local influences are also traceable in it. Fusion of diverse ideas, thoughts and practices has given it such a peculiar charm as to stir up reader's minds anxious to know of the mysterious working of human mind.

*Yoga* (a term used for Tantra, Haṭha yoga and similar other practices) ideas and practices so overwhelmingly predominate in it that it cannot be called Şufī literature except in its vague and formal sense. This is why we prefer to write *Muslim Yoga literature* in place of Şufī literature of Bengal.

However, some manuscripts (though their number is small), fairly represent the *Muslim Yoga literature* of Bengal. They have

1. *Bāṅgālā Prācīn Puñthir Vīvaran*, Abdul Karim Sahityavisarad, pt. I, pp. 251-252.



come down to our hands through the untiring zeal for collection of of Mawlawī 'Abdu-'l-Karīm Ṣāhitya Viśarad of The manuscripts Chittagong. All of these manuscripts are with him of the Muslim in his home-library, and I am really grateful to him literature. for his hospitality in permitting me to use his manuscripts as materials for this and the next chapter. In his work, *Bāṅgalā Prācīn Puthīr Vivaraṇ* (i.e. the Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts) part I and II, he furnishes us with the information of the following manuscripts :

Serial No.	Names of books in the catalogue.	Authors' names.	Part	Number of books in the catalogue	Pages
1	Jnāna Pradīpa	Sayyid Sulṭān	I	12	9
2	Tan Telāot	Unknown	I	21	14
3	Jnāna Sāgar	‘Alī Rājā ( Riḍā )	I	92	67
4	Shādallā Faqīr Pustaka	Unknown	I	115	81
5	Jnāna Chautisā	Sayyid Sulṭān	I	122	86
6	Bālkā Nāmā	Nayān Chānd Faqīr	I	209	138
7	Yoga Kālandar	Sayyid Murtaza	I	307	192
8	Nāmahīn Puthī i.e. nameless M.S. )	Sayyid Sulṭān and Hājī Maḥammad	I	366	223
9	Jnāna Sāgar	‘Alī Rājā ( Riḍā )	I	374	230
10	Nāmahīn puthī	Sayyid Sulṭān	I	392	241
11	Nāmahīn Puthī	Unknown	II	518	57

Amongst all these manuscripts, only *Jnāna Sāgar* by 'Alī Rajā has been edited by Mawlawī 'Abdu-'l-Karīm Sāhib and published by the Banglīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, while others are still being preserved in tattered and torn manuscripts.

Our personal examination of the above manuscripts has given us a clue to the elimination of some of the manuscripts. We find that *Tan Telāot* and *Yoga Kālandar* are but one book in different names. Even the Mawlawī Sāhib has not failed to mark a thorough similarity in the text of the two manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> But unfortunately, he could not discover any colophon in any of these two manuscripts. One of the manuscripts, viz. the manuscript of *Yoga Kālandar* contains the following colophon in the last part of the book :

“বাপে দিল জন্ম খানি মায়ের দিল খীর।  
সৈয়দ মতু'জা কহে জন্মের ফিকির ॥”

Translation :-

“Father is responsible for birth and mother for nursing with milk.

Sayyid Martuzā says,—This is the clue to human birth.”

As both the manuscripts of *Tan Telaot* and *Yoga Kālandar* contain a similar text with only negligible differences in reading we are justified to hold that the author of both the books was Sayyid Martuzā. Moreover, it seems that the copyist of *Yoga Kālandar* changed its original name for *Tan Telāot* which simply means the study of human body. The name *Tan Telāot* may be justifiably given to *Yoga Kālandar* as its subject matter means nothing but a mystic study of human body. We stick to the name *Yoga Qālandar* i.e *Yoga Kālandar* for the reason that the text of the book hints at the name in the following two lines :

“কৌশলে খাও যোগ বলে কালন্দর।  
বুঝিলে পাইবে সবে মরণ খবর ॥”

1. *Bāngālā Prācīn Puñthīr Viyaraṇa*, pt. I, Sahityavisarad, (Calcutta), p. 241.

Translation :-

“The Kālandar says—‘Skilfully practise Yoga ;  
When it is realised, all will Know of the secret of death”.

*Jnāna Pradīpa*, *Jnāna Chautisā* and the two other manuscripts bearing the catalogue nos. 366 and 392, contain the colophons of Sayyid Sulṭān. Excepting only a few negligible variations, which might have been interpolated by the copyists, the subject matter and the texts are the same in all manuscripts. It seems that the original book was *Jnāna Pradīpa* and the other manuscripts are its different versions. At least this much we can say that *Jnāna Pradīpa* represents all other books of Sayyid Sulṭān on the present subject.

*Shādallā Faqīr Pustak* and another manuscript bearing the number 518 of the said catalogue, part II, are the two copies of one manuscript, the name of which is given by Mawlawī ‘Abdu-’l-Karīm as *Shādallā Faqīr Pustak*. The names of these two manuscripts are unknown and we think that the real name of these two manuscripts is *Sapta Jnāna Pradīpa*,—a name found in a condensed version of these two manuscripts attached to the manuscript of *Jnāna Pradīpa*.

Now, out of the eleven manuscripts examined by us, the following five manuscripts should be noted :

1. Yoga Kālandar — Sayyid Martuzā.
2. Jnāna Sāgara — ‘Alī Rājā. ( Rīdā )
3. Jnāna Pradīpa — Sayyid Sulṭān
4. Sapta Jnāna Pradīpa — Unknown author.
5. Bālkā Nāmā — Nayān Chānd Faqīr.

Though all of these books were composed in Bengali verse, generally of *Payār* metre, the Arabic script was used in some of the manuscripts. Available dates of copying Bengali and these manuscripts do not go beyond the last part of the eighteenth century A. D. This clearly shows of the manus- that an attempt, though sporadic, was made by cripts. some Muslims of South Eastern Bengal ( as all the manuscripts were discovered from this tract ) to Arabicise the Bengali Script. But this audacious attempt

failed and the subsequent, nay even the contemporary manuscripts bear the testimony to the victory of the Bengali script over the Arabic one.

1. *Yoga Kālandar* (=Yoga of the Ṣūfīs) : The author of this book on Muslim Yoga is Sayyid Martuzā. One Sayyid Martuzā was the composer of many lyric poems on Vaiṣṇab themes. A number of these poems have been recently discovered by Mawlawī ‘Abdu-l-Karīm and published by him in *Yoga Kālandar* the *Sāhitya*.<sup>1</sup> This Sayyid Martuzā is said to have been the inhabitant of Chittagong. One of the poems of *Pada Kalpataru*, an anthology of the lyric poems of the Vaiṣṇabs, bears the colophon of another Sayyid Martuzā (as it is commonly supposed without sufficient evidence) an inhabitant of Murshidābād district.<sup>2</sup> Mawlawī ‘Abdu-l-Karīm entertains doubt as to both these poets being the same person, on the score of distance of Chittagong from Murshidābād. We do not see any reason why both the poets cannot be identified to be the same man. Popularity of Sayyid Martuzā, the inhabitant of Murshidābād district, is too obvious, when his poem had obtained even a little recognition from the Vaiṣṇabs, who preserved one of his poems in their anthologies. It is quite likely that a poet who was so popular among the people of different community would be popular among his brethern of Chittagong. Presumable owing to the exceptional popularity of Sayyid Martuzā, his lyric poems written on the Vaiṣṇab theme, were preserved by the Muslims of Chittagong. Unless sufficient proof forthcomes to show that Sayyid Martuzā of Murshidābād was not the poet whose poems have been discovered from Chittagong, we should not try to alienate the relation between each other, on the simple supposition that their poems have by chance, been discovered from two distant places.

Besides, Sayyid Murtazā, the author of *Yoga Kālandar*, and Sayyid Martuzā, the composer of the lyric songs, seem to be identical. Though the main theme of *Yoga Kālandar* and

1. The *Sāhitya*, 1310 B. S., pp. 552-553.

2. The *Sudhā*, pt. I, 4th issue, vide article on "Sayyid Murtaza".

lyric songs of the Vaiṣṇabs are different—the theme of the former being the mystic study of human body and that of the latter being the mystic yearning of human mind expressed through the allegory of Rādhā and Kṛiṣṇa,—yet their authors seem to be one man as we particularly mark that almost all of the Muslim Yoga writers, with whome we are acquainted, were the composers of Vaiṣṇab Padas. As for example we can cite the names of ‘Alī Rājā, the author of *Jnāna Sāgar*<sup>1</sup> and of Sayyid Sulṭān, the author of *Jnāna Pradīpa*<sup>2</sup>

However, *Yoga Kālaṇḍar* seem to be one of the earliest specimens of literature on this subject. Taking its author Sayyid Martuzā to be identical with the author of lyric poems of the Vaiṣṇabs, we can say with some precision that he flourished at a time not later than the middle of the seventeenth century. The *Pada Kalpataru*, in which a specimen of Sayyid Martuzā’s Vaiṣṇab Pada is found was collected by Vaiṣṇab Dāsa about the year 1760 A. D. Therefore, if Sayyid Martuzā did not flourish much earlier than 1760 A. D., and gained wide popularity among the Vaiṣṇabs would not have been included in the *Pada Kalpataru*. Internal evidence of *Yoga Kālaṇḍar* shows that it is a composition of the transition period when the Indian Śūfī practices were giving way to indigenous Yoga ones. In it almost all the practical aspects of Indian Śūfīism have been identified with Yoga, Tantra and similar other indigeous systems. But, Hindu influences are not yet completely triumphant over the Indian Śūfī system. In view of this fact, this book occupies a very prominent place in the history of the present subject and as such a first hand knowledge of the book is somewhat necessary. An English rendering of this book is appended to the present chapter, with this intention.

2. *Jnāna Sāgar* (=The Ocean of Gnosis): Its author ‘Alī Rājā alias Kānu Faqīr was a saintly man of some reputa-

1. (i) The Sahitya, 1310 B. S. pp. 537-540.

(ii) *Jnāna Sāgar*, ed. Abdul Karim, published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parisat, vide its “Introduction.”

2. The *Pūrṇimā*, 1307 B. S. p. 318.

tion. He was born in the village of Oshkhāin under the jurisdiction of thāna Anwārā in Chittagong, and he died Jnāna Sagar and at the age of 115 years in his native village.<sup>1</sup> His its author. descendants are still living and they stand on the fifth generation from him.<sup>2</sup> From this we can reasonably guess that he was alive before a century and a half. Besides *Jnāna Sagar*, 'Alī Rājā wrote the *Sirāj Kulup*, a book on Islamic theology, *Dhyānamālā* a book on music,<sup>3</sup> and a number of Vaiṣṇab songs.

*Jnāna Sāgar* is an expository book, in which the Prophet expounds the principles of *Faqrī* to 'Alī, who asked him for a lucid explanation of the subject. In the book, the Prophet has taken the pose of a *Guru* and 'Alī that of a *Chela*. It is needless to remark that the principle thus expounded was sparingly Islāmic in character. The whole book is interspersed with Yoga, Vaiṣṇab, Buddhist and other non-Islamic ideas.

3. *Jnāna Pradīpa* (=The Lamp of Gnosis): Its author Sayyid Sulṭān (1587 A. D.) was a versatile and erudite poet who wrote voluminous books on various subjects. His three books *Shab-i-Mī'rāj*, *Nabī Banḡa* (1587 A.D.) and *Nabī Kāhinī* are with us. Each of these books are big volumes containing more than 600 hundred pages. In Parāgalpur of the district of Jnāna Pradīpa Chittagong, he flourished during the last quarter of and its author. of the sixteenth century A. D. None of the manuscripts of his books is older than two hundred and fifty years. As most of the manuscripts of his books have been discovered from Eastern Bengal, Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Karīm took him to be an inhabitant of this part of Bengal.<sup>4</sup> But, subsequent discovery disproved this assumption. Besides the books, already mentioned, he wrote some Vaiṣṇab songs, three of which have been discovered.<sup>5</sup>

1. *Jnāna Sāgar*, ed. Abdu'l Karīm, vide "Introduction", p. 2.

2. *Ibid.* p. 3.

3. *Bāngālā Prachīn Puṭhīr Vīvarana*, pp. 76-77.

Abdu'l Karīm, pp. 76-77.

4. *The Pūrṇimā*, 1207 B. S. p. 318.

5. *Ibid.*

The *Jnāna Pradīpa* is also an expository book. 'Alī is the questioner and the Prophet is the speaker. But its expository character is not so prominent as it is in *Jnāna Sāgara*. Questions have been put very rarely and they are answered irrelevantly in lengthy speeches. In this book, main principles and practices of *Yoga* have been mingled with one another. In the beginning of his book, the poet gives a description of obligation to one aspiring to be a *Darvesh*. It clearly shows that the poet has made no distinction between the *Yoga* and *Ṣūfī* practices. It may be called the contents of his book, in spite of his departure from the order of obligations described in the book. On the whole, his description gives the subject matter of his book in a nutshell.

4. *Sapta Jnāna pradīpa* (\* The Lamp of the seven kinds of Gnosis) : The name of its author is not known. The earliest date of the copy of its manuscripts is 1214 B. S. *Sapta Jnāna Peadīpa*. i. e. this book was copied 167 yrsars ago. This book no doubt belongs to the latter period of ṣufiism in Bengal. The Ṣūfistic terms used and principles expounded in this book along with *Yoga* and similar other principles, sufficiently indicate the character of a transition period.

It is out-and-out an expository book. One ignorant disciple asked questions to his *pīr* and the *pīr* then answered the questions one by one. In this way many Ṣūfī and *Yoga* themes have been expounded in the book.

5. *Bālkā Nāmā* (=A Treatise on Discipleship) :- A short account of this book was given in the *Āratī*.<sup>1</sup> The name of its author is Nayān Chānd Faqīr who was an inhabitant of Mymensing district and probably flourished during the middle part of the eighteenth century A. D. The language of this book is a curious medley of Hindi and Bengali. It is regarded as a sacred book by the Bāuls and Darvesh sects of Mymensing district. Like *Sapta Jnāna Pradīpa*, it is out-and-out an expository book. The principle that has been expounded by way of question and answer, is this that everything, even God Himself is in the physique of man.

1 (i) The *Āratī*, 1308 B. S., pp. 11-13

(ii) *Bāṅgālā Prāchin Puṇthir Vivaraṇā*, ed. Abdul Karim, pt. I, p. 131.



## APPENDIX

### Yoga Kālandar or Yoga of the Ṣūfīs

( A faithful English translation from a composite manuscript prepared by me from amongst seven old Bengali manuscripts, four of which were written in Arabic characters. The figures 1, 2, 3, etc., put at the end of couplets, indicate the number of *Ślokas* or verses of the booklet.).

In the name of Allāh, the Merciful and the Compassionate.

#### 1. A preliminary invocatory discourse :

First of all, I bow to the Lord *Nīranjana* ( the Sinless One ) ;  
Then I bow to the feet of the Prophet. (1)  
Allāh is merciful, compassionate and a cherisher,  
Who has created the eighteen thousand worlds. (2)  
Know that the Prophet was anxious for ( the good of ) the world ;  
And the Apostle of Allāh gave much thought about it. (3)  
Then know that Bibī Fāṭimah was the daughter of the Apostle,  
Who was the wife of 'Alī and mother of the world (4).  
Bowing to all the Companions of the Prophet,  
I should like to divulge the secrets—attend to it. (5)  
I pay my respect to all the angels living on the sky.  
By whose order, the whole system of the universe is maintained (6)  
Now, O people, hear the ( great ) tidings :  
I only tell you the mysteries of the four *Maqāms*, (7)

#### 2. Description of the four *Maqāms*.

##### (i) *Nāsūt*.

Know that *Nāsūt Maqām* is situated at the *Tin Tehari* \*  
*Azrāil* is the guardian angel of that place. (8)  
Know that the cavity which lies there is a place of fire ;  
Fire always burns there and does not extinguish (9)

\* *Tin Tehari*=Sacrum ; a triangular bone situated at the lower part of the vertebral column ( of which it is a natural continuation ), and wedged between the two innominate bones, so as to form the keystone to the pelvic arch.

Know that the sun shines from the *Mulādhāra* (anal end of the spinal cord )

And *Jīvātmā* i.e. Individual Soul is considered as its lord. (10)

Know that the *Kalimah* of the Prophet is to be recited here ;

Adoring *Murshid* ( Teacher ) learn to practise it. (11)

A black lotus is there ; and the season *Griṣma* ( i.e. Summer ) prevails.

Fire incessantly burns in that region. (12)

If that fire extinguishes by chance,

Know it for certain that you will always have to kindle it. (13)

Human body does not decay owing to that fire ;

Be careful so that it may not extinguish. (14)

Know that the *Teḥarī* has always been a place of fire ;

This is why the tenth door should be shut up. (15)

Just as an animal contracts its anus after evacuating the bowels,

So also shut up the anus by way of contraction. (16)

Just as in a smithy fire is being kindled,

So also kindle your fire continuously by the process of contraction. (17)

He, who can practise this day in and day out,

Remains sound in body and conquers disease. (18).

Know that the main doors of a body are two ears,

*Anāhata*<sup>1</sup> sound is musically produced in them (19).

The main doors of *Ātmā* ( or self ) are the two clever ears ;

Information of different regions, the soul gets through them (2)

This lowest extremity of the spinal cord is a great cavity,

In the gall-bladder blows a violent wind of the Spring (*Basanta*) (21).

Day by day you should fix your gaze there with care

In order to see a small flame by your own eyes. (22).

The light of that flame will illuminate your light,

And you will see an image amidst that flame. ( 23 )

To that flame, when you will fix your gaze,

All the secrets of the past and future will be unfolded to you. ( 24 )

If you can see it always,

Your body will never decay. ( 25 )

1. *Anāhata* Sound or *Anāhata Dhvani* the sound that is made without striking. It is a technical term in Yoga.

A year before a man's death,  
 That image will not be visible as it will disappear. (26)  
 And his virility and strength leave the whole body.  
 And he loses his usual appetite. (27)  
 At the time of sexual intercourse, his male organ loses sensation.  
 Then know that the time of his death is near. (28)  
 A death to occur within a day or two (is indicated by)  
 The complete disappearance of man's testicles from the scrotums. (29)  
 When the perfection of *Nāsūt Maqām* is thus attained,  
 Then turn your attention to the attainment of perfection of  
*Malkūt*. (30).

(ii) *Malkūt*

Know that *Malkūt Maqām* is located at the region of navel ;  
 Know it perfectly well that air exists in that place. (31)  
 In *Yoga*, this place is known by the name *Manipur*,  
 Where *Hemanta* (Early Winter) season exists for ever. (32)  
 Know that angel *Isrāfīl* is the possessor of this place,  
 And that the nostrils are his doors. (33)  
 Know that in the cavity of navel, is a thing called the lungs.  
 From which breath constantly comes out. (34).  
 Within a day and a night, forty thousand respirations take place ;  
 In the body shut up air by any means you can. (35)  
 As long as you respire, so long you are alive ;  
 If you cease to do so, death surely comes. (36)  
 Fixing your gaze on ( the tip of ) nose hold up your breath, and  
 Pressing the chin on the throat, remain steady according to rules  
 prescribed. (37)  
 On the left thigh place the right foot, and  
 Opening two eyes, fix the gaze on ( the tip of ) nose. (38)  
 If you do this, breath will not come out of the body, and  
 You will visualize a light resembling the colour of the leaves  
 of arum. (39)  
 Amidst this light an image will be seen ;  
 Know that this image represents the light of *Ātmā* ( or soul ). (40)  
 Whoever can always visualise this image.  
 Can predict the success or failure in man's understandings. (41)

When you attain such perfections,  
 You are allowed to fix your gaze on *Manipur*. (42)  
 There is a Star in the region of *Manipur* ;  
 With divine vision, look at it particularly. (43)  
 In that region, you will see angels,  
 Gods and demons and all other beings living there. (44)  
 When the perfection of *Malkūt Maqām* is attained,  
 Try to attain the perfection of *Jabrūt Maqām* (45)

( iii ) *Jabrūt Maqām*

Know that *Jabrūt Maqām* is situated at the sinciput ;  
 All brains are there in abundant quantity. (46)  
 Angel *Mikā'il* is the possessor of that place.  
 Know that this is known as *Naṣīrā Maqām* (47)  
 Know that both eyes are its doors, and that  
 The place where liver is,—is a solitary cavity. (48)  
 In this place, water flows constantly,  
 Know that this water sustains the body. (49)  
 Whoever remains alert with intellect for ultimate reasoning  
 Can recognize it ( i. e. water ) through the direction of *Guru*. (50)  
 All *Sādhakas* as call it ( i. e. the cavity of liver ) *Ājñāchakra*.  
*Basanta* ( Spring ) season exists in it. (51)  
 This *Amritakunda* ( i. e. Well of Nectar ) is a great lake  
 Whoever drinks its water, becomes everlasting and immortal. (52)  
 The moon of the sky rises there,  
 Her beams give a physical satisfaction to look at. (53)  
 In the water of *Amritakunda*, is situated the chief quarter of  
*Ātmā*.  
 Always look at it in the state of meditation. (54)  
 If by chance you meet *Ātmā* in meditative mood,  
 Intellect for ultimate reasoning develops in the mind at the sight  
 of the Beloved Comrade. (55)  
 Vicious *Iblis* cannot mislead you ;  
 Being sure of your perfect intelligence, you will be at ease. (56)  
 When the perfection of *Malkūt Maqām* is attained,  
 Turn your attention to the attainment of perfection of *Lahūt*  
*Maqām*. (57)

(iv) *Lahūt*

Know that in this human body, *Lāhūt* is situated at heart,  
There lives an angel called *Jibrāil*. (58)

Know that the form of heart is just like that of a plantain-  
flower,

There sits Lord God Himself. (59)

Know that its name is *Mahmudāh Maqām*;  
Throne of Lord stands on this place. (60)

Other people calls it *Anāhata Chakra*

*Sarat* (autumn) season exists there for ever. (61)

Know that in the region of spleen lies the heart,  
And that whole mouth is its main door. (62)

Within the heart, the oceanic *Ātmā* lives,

From the *Guru*, hear about His realisation (*siddhi*) and then  
understand. (63)

When wine (i. e. love) is filled into the glass-vessel (i. e. body),  
The colour of the two (i. e. wine and vessel) is mixed up into  
one. (64)

*Paramātmā* (i. e. divine soul) lives with *Jivātmā* (i. e. individual  
soul)

When you meditate, you will see Him there (i. e. in the colour)  
with your own eyes. (65)

*Ātmā* is in the water (i. e. human body), and the water is  
in *Ātmā*,

You will see the pure Primal Light there (i. e. in the body) (66)

There you will find *Jivātmā* and *Paramātmā* meeting with each  
other.

And both of them playing with each other in a single body. (67)

Plunging yourself into that tank (i. e. in the body) for all  
times,

Be absorbed in meditation with a steady mind. (68)

Know that image of *Muhammad*, the greatest comrade of Lord,  
Is there (i. e. in the body), in the form of the *Nur-i-Muhammadī*  
(69)

With a consciousness of the awakened intelligence for ultimate  
reasoning,

He (i. e. the Prophet) is hidden in a cold chamber. (70)

An oyster ( i. e. heart ) is found in water ( i. e. body ), and in the  
oyster, the pearl ( i. e. love ),  
And in the pearl, the image of the *Nur-i-Muḥammadī* is found.  
(71)

If anybody meets with Muḥammad,  
He rejoices sitting alone in deep meditation, (72)  
Lord *Niranjana* lives in *Lahūt Maqām*,  
Both He and *Jīvātmā* meet each other. (73)  
On the moment they both meet each other,  
They lose ordinary sense at the sight of each other. (74)  
Through the lamp of glass ( i. e. body ), comes out that Light ;  
Look at this amazingly in steady meditation. (75)  
( And you will see how ) *Jīvātmā* and *Paramātmā*—these two  
Being mixed up with each other's light, shine. (76)  
This is as if the sun that has risen on the sky  
To scatter its rays over the ( surface of ) earth. (77)  
*Ātmā* sits on the *Sahasradala Kamala* ( i. e. thousand petalled  
lotus ).

And His light illuminates the whole body. (78)  
The light, that burns in a particular place, illuminates all around ,  
In the like manner, the Lord takes rest on *Sahasradala Kamala*.  
(79)

Whoever cherishes a hope to see the Lord,  
Should always see Him within the heart. (80)  
With the help of divine vision of the hidden eye,  
You will be able to see the Lord on that throne ( i. e.  
*Sahasradala Kamala* ). (81)

*Jīvātmā* which possesses animal intelligence, also sits there,  
Know that its name is *Rūḥ-i-haywānī* ( i. e. animal-soul ). (82)  
Being seated on its left side, vicious *Iblis*  
Gives bad counsel in the hope to ruin it. (83)  
Sound spontaneously flourishes there ;  
Being seated in a solitary place, hear it attentively. (84)  
Steadying the mind, recite the mystic formula *Ajapā*, and  
Realise the Stainless Lord ( *Niranjana* ) residing in the physique  
of man. (85)

Your knowledge will be much increased and life will be lengthened.  
If your mind lives in that place for ever. (86)

### 3. Description of "Tan" or body:

Hear something attentively about the description of *Tan* or body ;  
Let me now name the four (subtle) bodies that are in this  
physique. (87)

They are *Tan Laṭīf*, *Tan Kaṣhīf*, *Tan Baqā*, *Tan Fan*.

Make yourself familiar with them from oral exposition of the  
Guru. (88)

### 4. Names of seven mountains (*Giri*) in the human body.

There are seven incomparable mountains  
In the human body.—Hear their names : (89)

*Udayagiri*, *Astagiri*, *Manigiri*

*Kuṭagiri*, *Mālayagiri*, and *Hemagiri*. (90)

Let me name the seventh one known as *Merugiri*.

(Now) listen to the description of "Ten Doors" (i. e. *daṣa*  
*dvāra*). (91)

### 5. Description of *Daṣa dvāra* or ten doors i. e. ten passages of human body.

Two eyes, two ears—these make four ;

Two nostrils and a mouth are added to give the number seven ;  
(92)

One anus, one sexual organ and a navel—these three

Complete the number ten. Know them each separately (from  
the *Guru*). (93).

### 6. Description of eighteen things in the constitution of a man.

The first thing is semen, the second, nerves, the third, bones,

The fourth, brain,—these four belong to father. (94)

The first thing is hair, the second, skin,

The third thing is blood, the fourth, flesh. (95)

These four things belong to mother.

Besides these eight things, the remainig ten belong to Allah. (96)

When an embryo is six-month-old in the womb,

Six things are written ( by God ) on its forehead. (97).  
 ( These six things plus other ) four, viz. life, death, subsistence  
 and wealth,  
 Are ( exclusivly ) under the dispensation of God. (98).

7. Identification of four elements  
 with *Maqāms*.

Hear me : I now like to explain the appellations of *Maqāms* ;  
 And the way of Lord *Niranjana*'s living in the body. (99)  
 Water, fire, earth and air, - these are the four ( elemental ) *Maqāms* ;  
 Attentively hear—I now like to explain their respective locations.  
 (100)

( i ) Fire.

*Nāsūt Maqām* is the place of fire, situated at the region of  
*Tin Teharī*.

An angel called *Azrāil* is the watchman of that place. (101)

Like tiger, he assumes a form ;

He performs *Dhikr* meant for the *Sharī'at Manzil*. (102)

These two ears are his doors ;

He sleeps in the chamber of gall-bladder on a cool bed. (103)

Fixing your gaze to that place, if you can perform the *yaugik*  
 practices

You will surely attain the perfection of *Sharī'at Manzil*. (104)

( ii ) Air.

*Malkūt Maqām*, situated at the navel, is the place of air ;

An angel called *Isrāfīl* lives there. (105)

Like serpent, he assumes a form ,

He performs a *Dhikr* meant for all in the *Ṭarīqat Manzil*. (106)

Know that the nostrils are his doors.

He repairs to the cavity of lungs for sleep. (107)

Fixing the gaze on that place, if you meditate,

The perfection of *Ṭarīqat Manzil* will surely be attained. (108)



## (iii) Water.

*Jabrūt Maqām*, situated at the sinciput, is the place of water.  
An angel called *Mikāil* (Michael) lives there. (109)

Like elephant, he assumes a form ;

He performs *Dhikr* sitting at the *Ḥaqīqat Manzil*. (110)

These two eyes are his doors,

He repairs to the cavity of liver for sleep. (111)

Fixing your gaze on that place, if you can meditate,

Perfection of *Ḥaqīqat Manzil* will sure be attained, (112)

## (iv) Earth.

*Lāhūt Maqām*, which situated at the heart, is the place of earth.

An angel called *Jibrāil* (Gabriel) lives there. (113)

Like the pea-cock, he assumes form,

He performs *Dhikr* sitting at the *Ma'arafat Manzil*. (114)

This lotus-like mouth is his door,

He sleeps in the heart on a cool bed. (115)

*Niranjana*, *Jibrail* (Gabriel) and the vicious *Iblis* (Devil.)

These three persons live always in the heart. (116)

If you can recognize these three persons,

The perfection of *M'arafat* will surely be attained in meditation.  
(117)

8. Obligations of *Manzils* described.

Obligations of different *Manzils* are different,

I like to give the unique description of them ; - hear me. (118)

(i) Description of *Manzils*.

Know that, first of all *Sharī'at* should be considered, then  
*Tariqat* ;

Thirdly *Ḥaqīqat* should be considered, then *M'arafat*. (119)

Know that *Sharī'at Manzil* is identical with *Nāsūt Maqām* ;

*Tariqat Manzil*, with *Malkūt Maqām*, (120)

*Ḥaqīqat Manzil*, with *Jabrūt Maqām*.

And *M'arafat Manzil*, with *Lāhūt Maqām*. (121)

The Prophet has said in the *Ḥadīth*—

Obligations of *Sharī'at* are ( the observances of ) my sayings, ( 122 )  
 Those of *Ṭarīqat* are ( the imitations of ) my character ;  
 And know that *Ḥaqīat* is the stage of devout practices of my  
 life. ( 123 )

Certainly know that *M'arafat* is the secret of mine.

These four kinds of descriptions are found in the *Ḥadīth*. ( 124 )

( ii ) Obligations of *Sharī'at Manzil*.

In the *Manzil* of fire, discharge the obligations of *Sharī'at*.

Strengthen your faith ( *Imān* ), and recite *Kalimah*.\* ( 125 )

Vocally recognize Allāh and obey Him from the core of your heart ;

Certainly believe in heart and confess orally that Allāh is one.  
 ( 126 )

Pay up *Zakāt* out of the wealth, you have amassed ;

Make a careful distinction between *Ḥalāl* ( i. e. lawful ) and  
*Ḥarām* ( i. e. unlawful things ). ( 127 )

*Sharī'at* says—Islām consists of five things, and they are,—*Rūzah*  
 ( fasting ), *Namāz* ( prayer ), *Hajj* ( pilgrimage to Mecca ), *Kalimah*,  
 and *Zakāt* ( poor-rate ). ( 128 )

( iii ) Obligations of *Ṭarīqat Manzil*.

In the *Ṭarīqat Manzil*, renounce all ( worldly ) botherations,—

Including illusions, attachments and other mundane affairs. ( 129 )

Give up all inclinations to evil propensities, along with

These four, viz. Lust, Anger, Avarice, and Infatuation. ( 130 )

Do not hate any body,—humble or honourable.

Extend your love to young and old alike. ( 131 )

Address all of your superiors with respect.

Think of yourself to be a humble man. ( 132 )

Whoever can do these all and sundry duties

Becomes a friend of God in the *Ṭarīqat Manzil*. ( 133 )

\* *Kalimah* :- It is the fundamental principle of Islām. A vocal recognition of and a deep faith in this principle is absolutely necessary for all to become a true Muslim. The formula embodying the principle - "There is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad is His apostle", - is known as *Kalimah* which literally means "a speech."

(iv) Obligations of *Haqīqat Manzil*.

Here is the information of *Haqīqat Manzil*,—hear this.  
 Have patience at the time of hunger, thirst and sleep. (134)  
 Everyday remain absorbed in the thought of Lord.  
 Take little food and little rest and be cheerful, (135)  
 Altruistic persons do not envy their neighbours;  
 They always remain absorbed in the thought of Lord *Niranjana*,  
 (136).  
 Whoever shuns misdeeds like quarrel etc. does good to others,  
 And his love-hankering heart will then be deeply absorbed in the  
 Lord. (137)

V. Obligations of *M'arafat Manzil*.

To recognize one's own self as if in a mirror he does is a necessity,  
 For all in the *M'arafat Manzil*. (138)  
 Peruse the *Qurān* daily with perfect devotion.  
 Establish everywhere a cordial relation with all people. (139)  
 Do not tell a lie and hear a falsehood.  
 Explain the teachings of religion amidst an assembly. (140)  
 Cut such jokes as may induce people to speak well of you;  
 And deliver surmon, when you sit amidst an assembly. (141)  
 Shun pride and vanity and do not praise your ownself.  
 Do not disrespect the poor, beggars and the weakling. (142)  
 Whoever discharges the obligations of these four *Manzils*,  
 Will always live in the presence of God. (143)  
 Who can elaborately discuss the subject—*Maqām* and *Manzil* ?  
 I have only said something in brief,—Now attend to other topics.  
 (144)

## 9. Colour of the four elements described.

Water, fire, earth and air, - these are the four elements,  
 I shall now describe their respective colours. ( 145 )  
 Colour of fire is red, and that of air is green.  
 Colour of earth is yellow, and that of water is white. ( 146 )  
 The colour of each thing is according to nature it possesses.  
 This is what I deliberately say and you should certainly know.  
 ( 147 ).

10. Description of dresses worn by the four angels living in the four *Maqāms*.

Here me, - I like to describe the respective dresses of  
Those angels who inhabit four *Kishwars* (=Kingdom=*Maqāms*)  
(148)

Know that the angel *Azrāil* is a terrible guard ;

He puts on red dress and rides on a horse. (149)

Angel *Isrāfil* possesses green dress and a green horse.

Angel *Mikāil* rides on a ( white ) horse with white dress on. (150)

Angel *Jibrāil* lives near *Niranjana*, and

He rides on a yellow horse with yellow dress on. (151).

11. Description of *Dīl* or heart.

( Just as ) there are four ( subtle ) bodies within one body,  
( so also ) there are four ( subtle ) hearts ( within the body ).

Attentively hear me, I give a description of them. (152)

They are : *Dīl Mudawwarī*, *Dīl Sanawwarī*.

*Dīl Ambarī*, and *Dīl Nilufarī*. (153)

I, the humble one, cannot describe their greatness.

Hear of their unparallel secret from oral explanation of the  
Guru. (154).

or

12. Description of things necessary for the formation of a human body.

There are altogether 444 bones in a human body, and

A network of 360 nerves is in it. (155).

Semen of father, blood of mother and air of birth,

Death and earth - all these have been mixed up with one another  
to form a man. (156)

Water, fire, earth and air - these four elements

Plus 'Nur' or Divine Light - altogether these five things constitute  
the body. (157)

13. Modes of meditation in different

*Āsanas*.\*

Hear me ; I now describe some *Āsanas*,

Which are required to realise *Niranjana* in meditation. (158)

\* *Āsanas* :—In Yoga, *Āsana* means the postures of body generally sitting ones. They are preparatory methods for the concentration of mind in *Dhyāna* or meditation.

( i ) *Garbhāsana*,

Keep the mind under proper control in *Garbhāsana*, and  
 Look steadily at the fore head. ( 159 )  
 Gazing at the *Trineta*, the meeting point of two eyes and nose,  
 Steady your mind in meditation. ( 160 )  
 Three nerves meet together on this path of eyebrow.  
 ( Hence ) gnostics call it the *Ghāt* ( quay ) of *Tribenī* ( 161 ).  
 Whosoever always bathe in this *Ghāt* of *Tribenī*,  
 Can evade millions of sins committed. ( 162 ).

( ii ) *Mayūrāsana*.

Being seated as at *Mayūrāsana*, meditate before a mirror.  
 There you will find an image of your own *Thākura* ( i.e. God )  
 ( 163 )  
 If you be well-acquainted with this image,  
 Know, that light of a gem will come down to meet you. ( 164 )

( iii ) *Padmāsana*.

Being seated as at *Padmāsana*, fix up your attention to ( the  
 tip of ) nose, and  
 You will see ( a thing like ) corn on the horn of a cow. ( 165 )  
 If you can look at it ( i.e. corn ) in the twinkling of an eye,  
 You will be liberated from the sin by virtue of the sight of  
 beauty ( of the corn ). ( 166 )

( iv ) *Yogāsana*.

Vigilantly sit as at *Yogāsana*,  
 Draw the breath of *Basanta* ( or lit=vernal breeze ) through the  
 nostrils. ( 167 )  
 Igniting the fire of sacral region, press *Tribenī*, and  
 Concentrating the mind, meditate a deep meditation. ( 168 )  
 While performing exercises like *Dhikr*, etc, your undivided atten-  
 tion must be maintained ;  
 And you will see an image like a granule of pearls present  
 before your eye. ( 169 )

Recognizing that image, if you have a look at it,  
You will be liberated from all sins committed in the previous  
births. (170)

At the dead of night, lighting a lamp, when you meditate,  
You will find a brilliantly luminous light. (171)

Red, yellow, black and white, all these  
Four kinds of light, will be fused into one. (172)

If you see that light in meditation,  
You will be purged of all sins committed anywhere. (173).

14. Light issuing from different sources is described.

(i) The Sun.

At the time of sun-rise, if you look at (the sun),  
You will find eternal and undescribable light. (174)

In this light, recognize an essential light in meditation ;  
(Thereby) liberate yourself playfully from all sins committed in  
the previous births. (175)

Know that at the time of sun-set, on the shadow (of your body)  
The beautiful light of *Tan Laṭif* is reflected. (176)

If the eyes are fixed at that light of *Tan Laṭif*,  
(Essential) light of the body will be seen in the shadow. (177)

Recognizing that light if anybody steadies his mind,  
His sins will be expiated and his body will be purified. (178)

(ii) The Moon.

During night, if anybody looks at the moon,  
He will see there a figure resembling human being. (179)

Whoever can recognize that figure,  
Is sure to know the past and future. (180).

(iii) Water.

Plunging himself in water, when a man opens his eyes,  
He observes a (new) kind of light of *Ātmā*. (181)  
It resembles blackness in the midst of redness or redness in the  
midst of blackness.

If that light is recognized sins will, in that moment, be expiated.  
(182)

15. Process of meditation on the image of *Murshid*.

Placing the right leg on the left one, and

Fixing the gaze on fore-head, visualize the image of *Murshid*.  
(183).

It (i.e. the image of *Murshid*) dazzles through the transparent  
glassware :

It is as if a garland of pearls, bright to look at. (184).

It is as if a particle of gem that is in a transparent glassware.

Only a *Muni* is aware of the secret of that ultimate truth. (185).

It is the dearest golden image that resembles fire ;

It is the dearest silvery image that resembles the shadow of  
mirror. (186).

This dearest image resembles rays of the sun or the flame in  
darkness ;

This dearest image resembles the lightning in cloud or the full-  
moon. (187).

16. Description of light coming from  
different directions.

Light comes from below, above, front and the right and left  
sides ;

Recognize it in relation to these directions. (188)

Know that the light coming from the right side is the light of  
*Ātmā i. e. Niranjana* ;

Know that the light coming from the left side is the light of  
vicious *Iblis*. (189)

If light comes first of all from the right side,

Look at it with a steady gaze. (190)

First of all, do not see the light coming from the left side,  
(Because) vicious *Iblis* comes down along this light. (191)

Understand these two descriptions in these two ways,

It is good to know and profitable to recognize. (192)

First of all, recognize that front light is of *Niranjana's* ;

In the thought of that light, steady your mind. (193)

If anybody can perform the austerities of *Dhikr*, breath-control etc.

He sees that eternal and undescribable light. (194)

The light that comes down from heaven is the light of *Jibrāil*.

This light mixes with other light in a beautiful manner. (195)

When light rises up from the nether world to mix with others,

Know that this is the light of *Azrāil*, the Lord of Death. (196)

*Mikāil* comes down along the light that comes from the right ;

He then assumes his own form and mixes with other light. (197)

The light that comes from the left is the light of *Isrāfil*,

It then mixes with other light in a beautiful manner. ( 198 )

These four angels are in the physique of man.

Those are ignorant and obstinate, do not understand these things. ( 199 )

*Kirāman* and *Ktāibin* being added ( to the four, already mentioned ) make six.

Along with them, live the invaluable gem-*Jīvātmā* and *Paramātmā* ( 200 )

Including these two *Ātmās*, there are altogether eight beings ( in the body ) ;

( Question of ) Muḥammad and Allāh ( does not arise here as they ) are embodiment of light. ( 201 )

There is another kind of *Nur* called *Tajallā* ;

It gives a pleasure that can be had from the sight of the only comrade. ( 202 ).

I am bewildered in the thought of recognizing these different kinds of light.

Whoever recognizes it becomes everlasting and immortal. ( 203 )

Whoever can meditate over these different kinds of light,

Finds an eternal and undescribable light. ( 204 )

As long as the corn remains on the horn of cow,

So long look at it so that millions of sin may be purged off. ( 205 )

Slaughter of a cow, a female, a Brahmin and intemperance-

These four great sins will be playfully purified. ( 206 )



## 17. Secret of sexual pleasure.

The house of Kṛiṣṇa is in the hundred petalled lotus.

(The light of) sexual pleasure issuing out from that place  
illuminate *Tribenī*. (207)

Performing the five functions in the *Ghāt* (quay) of *Tribenī*,  
It (i. e. sensual pleasure) remains hidden in its own place. (208)  
*Abināś* and *Alekhā* are the two solitary places ;

Hear the explanation of these two from the oral exposition of  
*the Guru*. (209)

How can I, being an insignificant man describe their greatness ?  
(But this much I know that) when they are destroyed, founda-  
tion of that superb house is shaken. (210)

On the days of new-moon and full-moon and 8th and 9th  
Dates of the lunar month, do not visit a female (for coition)  
(211)

## 18. Description of signs of death.

*Kālandar* says,-skillfully practise *Yoga* ;

When it is (properly) understood, all of you will be informed  
of death. (212)

(i) Signs that indicate death within a year.

If perspiration is always found on the head,

If ears do not hear when they are pressed, (213)

If both ears become equally deaf at the same time,

If no drop (of water) is seen to come out of the nose, when  
it is pressed, (214)

If a man alternately becomes angry and kind,

If the mind of any person always roam about, (215)

If the heart of anybody is dejected at the time of laugh-

When all these signs are manifested, death is believed to occur  
within a year. (216)

(ii) Signs that indicate death within six months.

If vultures are always seen on the tree,

If the sun looks like a monkey, when it is beholden, (217)

If no body follows a man, but he hears a voice from his behind,

If the palate of anybody dries up, when he does not look at  
the constellation of seven stars, (218)

If the nose is not seen in spite of its being hooked,  
 If no sound is heard at the time of sexual intercourse, (219)  
 If the fall of a meteor is witnessed during the day-time,  
 If a man unexpectedly falls giddily on other's body- (220)  
 When all these special signs are manifested,  
 Death surely occurs within six months. (221)

(iii) Signs that indicate death within one month.

If anybody beholds a man in the sky during the day-time,  
 If that man is seen without a head, (222)  
 If no smell is perceived at the time of extinguishing a lamp,  
 If the smell of a dead-body is perceived all on a sudden, (223)  
 If no light is seen, when a finger is put in the eye,  
 If anybody feels his fore-head to be spacious by his own hand,  
 (224)  
 When all these special signs are manifested,  
 They surely cause death within one month. (225)

(iv) Signs that indicate death within  
 ten days.

If all the senses seem to be benumbed,  
 If a man beholds rain to fall without cloud, (226)  
 If duck, crow and pea-cock are seen in dream,  
 If hands and feet dry up instantaneously after bath, (227)  
 If a rainbow is seen in the sky during the night,  
 If the teeth are violently pressed at the time of anger, (228)  
 If coldness is felt during the day-time, and warmth during the  
 night,  
 If a fair face becomes deep black like *Kājala*, (229)  
 If the heart palpitates constantly throughout the day and night,  
 Then know it certainly that death occurs within ten days. (230)

(v) Signs that indicate death within  
 seven days.

If one-half of the body becomes weak and the other-half cold,  
 Know that in such case danger is apprehended. (231)

If the pupil of the eye assumes a colour of *Baṭu* flower,  
Know that his death is sure within seven days. (232)

(vi) Signs that indicate death within  
one day.

If both scrotums disappear by chance,  
If the shadow of body is not seen reflected in the mirror, (233)  
If one's own shadow is seen on his right side,  
Know it certainly that death occurs in that very day. (234)  
Twenty *dandas* before death, shadow becomes short;  
Seven *danda* before death, two kinds of voice come out ; (235)  
Six *danda* before death, shadow goes under the feet ;  
One *prahar* before death, shadow is seen on the right side ; (236)  
When shadow falls to the direction of the lamp,  
*Ātmā* leaves the body on that very moment. (237)

19. Concluding lines.

Leaving wisdom think over *Nīranjana* in meditation, and  
In the quay of *Trībeṇī* drink nectar-like water. (238)  
To him in whose heart *Murshīd* or *Pīr* has not a place,  
*Ṭhākur* (i. e. God) does not reveal Himself. (239)  
Father is responsible for birth, and mother for milk.  
Sayyid Martuzā says,—“This is the clue to human birth”. (240)

*Danda* is an Indian measure of time equal to twenty-four minutes.  
*Prahar* is equal to three hours.

## Chapter XIV

### A. Study of the Muslim Yoga Literature

Introduction : At the very outset it should be noted that there were in Bengal two separate currents of Ṣūfī thought followed by two distinct groups of Ṣūfīs. Reminiscence of these two currents are still to be found among the living

Introduction. divines of this country. One current of these two was but the extension of that form of Ṣūfīsm which was prevalent all over Northern India before the fifteenth century A. D., and became stereotyped in course of time as a system of unexpansive thought. This current was popular among the learned divines of Bengal, who believed that the early form of Northern Indian Ṣūfīsm was the true Islāmic form of thought that should be stuck to. As we are not concerned here with this current, we may leave this question altogether.

Another current, which was progressive in spirit, was the most popular form of Ṣūfīsm, and the people of ordinary run aspiring after the realisation of God through the culture of self, adopted this. Due to its progressive spirit, it defied the older form, and moved forward with rapid strides to a goal, not at all desired by the puritans. The result was this that within a short time, it fused into other indigenous thoughts and practices to such an extent that it had in the long run, to lose its own individuality and to merge it sufficiently to the sister thought system and practices. Consequently it became a distinctively curious system of thought and a medley of different practices.

We are here concerned with this development of the Bengali type of Ṣūfīsm. It is neither important for its deep philosophy, nor for its invention of new methods for self-culture quite unknown to the Muslims or Hindus. But it is important enough to understand the true nature of changes in Indian Ṣūfīsm in particular and in Indian Islām in general. How a particular system of thought and a

particular religion can change its course and colour under a foreign environment can be had from the study of this peculiar type of Islāmic theosophy in Bengal. Though we are fully aware of the fact that the orthodox and puritan section of the Muslims of Bengal will infinitely hesitate to accept this as their own, yet we are sure, they will not be able to deny it altogether, as it represents the true picture of development of a section of the Bengali Muslims' thought.

### Theoretical aspect of the later Ṣūfīs of Bengal.

#### 1. God.

Later Ṣūfīs of Bengal have given different designations to God, in addition to those of Islāmic ones. They call Him *Paramātmā*, *Niranjana*, *Iḡvara*, *Śūnya*, *Thākura*, *Gosāī* etc. Just as the name "Allāh" has special significance in Islāmic theology, and theosophy, so also, the names of God. *Paramātmā*, *Niranjana* etc. have special significances in Hindu or Buddhist religion and philosophy and their offshoots. As for example, the word *Paramātmā* is used by the Hindu philosophers to mean God in the sense that He is the Primal Soul or *Paramātmā* in relation to the Individual Soul or *Jivātmā*. The fundamental idea is—the souls, which all creatures of the world possess, are different parts of the Primal Soul or *Paramātmā* and thus they have the same quality of eternity, purity etc. as the Primal Soul possesses. These Hindu (including, Buddhist, Vaiṣṇab etc) names of God were not imported to Islām, being shorn off of all special connotations, and thus later Ṣūfīs of Bengal were undoubtedly influenced by their ideas.

However, later Ṣūfīs of Bengal believe in the unity of God. They say,—there is none like Him; He is the Lord of the universe and the only object of worship to all creatures.<sup>1</sup> He has no father, no mother, no beginning and no end: He exists

1. "এক কায়া, এক ছায়া, নাহিক দোসর। এক তন, এক মন, আপে একেশ্বর ॥  
ত্রিজগতে এক কায়া, এক করতার। এক প্রভু সেবে জপে সব জীবধর ॥"

জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ৩৮

and exists as a Creator without any concrete form or shape.<sup>1</sup> Though God has no form He has the capacity to assume it. He reveals Himself to man through the process of illumination, for He is the embodiment of light and source of all illuminations.<sup>2</sup>

Unity of God thus conceived is not absolute, as it is found in the theological school of Islāmic thought. It is predominantly an immanent conception along with stray gleamings of transcendentalism. According to this conception :

“A single place or a single creature is not separate from the Lord

In every creature and every place God is merged.”<sup>3</sup>

If in this way a separate existence of God is not recognized, all differences between the Creator and the created are gone and the Creator becomes completely identical with the created. Consequently, a phenomenal diversity in the creation, creates a seeming diversity in the conception of God as one and alone. In the circumstances, an absolute unity of God cannot be conceived and in fact, later ṢŪfīs of Bengal did not do it. In their opinion, God is immanently one and hence they say :

“God is the universe and the universe is God ;

In the three worlds, one God exists”.<sup>4</sup>

“He is neither fine nor gross but pervades all,

He is not subject to infirmity and is immortal and wants everyone.”<sup>5</sup>

1. “নাহি তার আদি অন্ত নাহি মাতা পিতা ।

আপনে সে নিরাকার আছে সৃষ্টিকর্তা ॥”

জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।

2. জ্যোতিষ্মৎ মূর্তিধরে জ্যোতিষ্মৎ নাথ ।

শিখহ পরমতত্ত্ব সেই জগন্নাথ ॥”

জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।

3. “স্থান জীব এক নাহি প্রভু হস্তে ভিন ।

সর্বজীব সর্বঠাই করতার লীন ॥”

জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ৫৩ ।

4. “ঈশ্বর জগৎ হয়, জগৎ ঈশ্বর ।

ত্রিভুবনে ঈশ্বরের এক কলেবর ॥”

জ্ঞান সাগর, পৃঃ ১০৩ ।

5. “দুঃস্বপ্ন, স্থূল নহে সর্ব ব্যাপিত যে আছে ।

অজর, অমর সে যে সর্বানক বাঞ্ছে ॥”

জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।

Two kinds of processes, through which God manifests Himself to Man, are generally recognized by later Sūfīs of Bengal. They are processes of illumination (*munawwarī*) and illusion or *Māyā*. The entire sets of practices of the Indian Sūfīs and the Indian Yogīs tend to the realization of their self amidst a divine illumination. It is the finer manifestation of God and is generally realised at the highest perfection of mystic attainments. The process of divine manifestation through illusion or *Māyā* is altogether different from its sister process. It is the gross manifestation of God through the diverse phenomena. A strong influence of the Hindu conception of universe as *Māyā* or illusion is clearly traceable in the present conception of the phenomenal manifestation of God. It is admitted that *Māyā* persuades God to assume phenomenal forms and to manifest Himself differently in different phenomena :

“Lord Himself being enwrapped in His own *Māyā*  
Assumes different forms to manifest Himself in diverse  
ways”.<sup>1</sup>

But, as the natures of phenomena differ in relation to their properties, manifestation of God must vary. Thus, later Sūfīs of Bengal conceive :

The Lord is the warmth in fire and coldness in water,  
The Lord is the steadiness in light and motion in air.<sup>2</sup>

God is thus brought into a region where he can be felt, touched, tested and comprehended by human senses. But he cannot be seen. There is a class of people, who are not satisfied with such a hidden manifestation of God. They want a naked manifestation. But God does not like to expose Himself in a naked manner as these people want. The cause of this is described as :

1. “আপনার মায়ামূলে আপে হই বশ।

নানাকর ধরি প্রভু করে নানা রস॥” জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ১০৩।

2. “হতাশনে তপ্ত প্রভু জলেতে শীতল।

জ্যোতিকাতে স্থির প্রভু পবনে চঞ্চল॥” জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ।

“God possesses unrecorded greatness and qualities,  
In spite of these, He is hidden in fear of the worldly man.”<sup>1</sup>

Whatever may be the cause of God's hidden manifestation through the phenomena, He is an unseen Being. Due to this invisible character of God, He is called *Śūnya* or Void.<sup>2</sup> Besides prominence of the invisible character in the *Śūnya* conception of God, there are other reasons that contributes to the full implication of this conception. These reasons are palpably adduced for a mutual adjustment of the *Śūnya* conception of God to the Buddhist *Śūnya-vāda* or Voidism. The fundamental idea underlying the *Śūnyavāda* of the Mahāyāna Buddhists is: There is no God except *Śūnya* or Void, out of *Śūnya* men and other creatures come into being and in *Śūnya* they again disappear. In other words, out of nothing something comes into being and this something again loses its existence into nothing. The *Śūnya* conception of later Śūfis of Bengal is due to the result of an influence of the doctrine of Mahāyāna Buddhist. In their opinion, God came into being out of the Void, He exists in the Void and lives in it. Therefore He may be identified with *Śūnya*. The nature of this *Śūnya* is not easily comprehensible, Whoever realizes its nature, is not born again.<sup>3</sup> Only Darvishes can realize it and becomes enamoured of this *Śūnya* :

*Faqīr* makes love with that *Śūnya*

Whose name is *Śūnya*, action is *Śūnya* and existence is  
*Śūnya*.<sup>4</sup>

1. “অলেখ্য মহিমা গুণ ধরে করতারে।  
তথাপি গোপনে আছে সংসারীর ডরে ॥” জ্ঞান-সাগর পৃঃ ১৪।
2. “দেখিতে না পারি যারে তারে বলি শূন্য।” জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ।
3. “শূন্য ঐসে উৎপত্তি শূন্য ঐসে স্থান। শূন্যের মধ্যেতে বৈসএ ধর্মজ্ঞান ॥  
শূন্য মধ্যে আইসে আর শূন্য মধ্যে যায়। এই শূন্য চিনিলে পর মরণ এড়ায় ॥  
জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ।
4. “নাম শূন্য, কাম শূন্য, শূন্যে যার স্থিতি।  
সে শূন্যের সঙ্গে করে ফকীর পীরিতি ॥”

জ্ঞান সাগর, পৃঃ ১২।



## 2. Theory of Cosmogony.

The theory of cosmogony, expounded by later Ṣūfis of Bengal is not wholly their own invention. As early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A. D., premature tendencies towards a cosmogonical speculation almost similar to that of later Ṣūfis of Bengal were visible. In course of time these tendencies were matured and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it took the shape of a full-fledged theory (of course with local variations) in almost all parts of Northern India. The theoretical aspect of Northern Indian Ṣūfiism, discussed elsewhere at considerable length, will, we hope, give our readers some idea of the line of development of these speculations. The cosmogonical theory of later Ṣūfis of Bengal is only a local type of Northern Indian Ṣūfi speculation.

The Bengali Ṣūfi type of cosmogonical theory runs thus : In the beginning of creation there was nothing. God had no form. He was enveloped in darkness, the original colour of creation, and was absorbed in deep sleep identifying His own colour with the colour of darkness. This was an eternal sleep of God, in which He fell quite unawares in love with His Light (*Nūr*), which is the source of all consciousness (*Chit*). Love induced Him to manifest Himself in Light in the state of formlessness. His manifestation in Light brought all at once consciousness to Him and rose up to sit on the seat of life.<sup>1</sup>

In this way, when God came into life, He applied Himself to the act of creation. From the above, it will be seen that light came into being out of darkness. Therefore, light is generally

- 1 “আদ্যোতে আছিল প্রভু শূন্তের শরীর ।  
 ছেয়া রঞ্জে নিজরঙ্গ হইলেন্ত স্থির ॥  
 শূন্ত অঙ্গে নূর সঙ্গে নিদ্রায় পীরিত ।  
 নূর অঙ্গময় ত ঘরে আছিলেন্ত চিত ॥  
 চেতনে চেতাইল তানে ব্যস্ত নিদ্রা হনে ।  
 উঠিয়া বসিল প্রভু জীবন আসনে ॥”

সপ্ত জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।

taken as the first of God's creation ; subsequent creations are regarded as the result of God's manifestation in light.<sup>1</sup> However when God played the role of a creator, He first created the angels. *Israfil* was created from His nose, *Azrail* from His ears, *Jibrail* from His mouth and *Mikail* from His eyes. Along with each one of these four angels, He created other seventeen thousand angels from each of His hairs.<sup>2</sup>

Then God intended to create man. But before man's creation, He created some other things as necessary precedent to the creation of man. These are death (*Mawt*), consciousness ( *Chaitanya* ), and love ( *Ishq* ). From love, He created wisdom ( *'Aql* ) and from wisdom the faculty of thought ( *Fikr* ). In order to give a full facility for the proper development of this faculty, God created moral courage ( *Himmat* ).<sup>3</sup> When all these preliminary things were made, God created the souls of men and asked them, "Who created you all ?". They replied, "Thou art our creator O Lord : Thou hast given us the life and again causest us to die in the world." God became satisfied with the reply and gave orders to the souls to take their initiations from the Light. The souls then did so.<sup>4</sup>

1. "এহি মতে নূর হস্তে সকল সৃজিল।" সপ্ত জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ।
2. "নাসিকাতে ইস্রাফিল কর্ণেতে আজরাইল। মুখেতে জিব্রাইল জন্ম, চক্ষুে মিকাইল ॥  
এক এক ফিরিস্তা সঙ্গে সতের হাজার। প্রতি লোমে লোমে জন্ম এক ফিরিস্তার ॥"  
সপ্ত জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ।
3. "সকল বন্দার আগে মইয়ত সৃজিল। তার পাছে করতার চৈতন্য জন্মাইল ॥  
চেতনের পরে আত্মা আশক সৃজিল। আশকের হস্তে প্রভু আকুল সৃজিল ॥  
আকুল হস্তে ফিকির সৃজিল করতার। হিম্মত সৃজিল প্রভু ফিকির ব্যবহার ॥"  
সপ্ত জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ।
4. "এহি মতে নূর হস্তে সকল সৃজিল। পয়দার হইয়া বন্দা একত্রে রহিল ॥  
বন্দাগণ প্রতি প্রভু পুছিল। তখন। কাহার সৃজন তোম্বা হয় কোন্‌জন ॥  
বন্দাগণ বলে আত্মা সৃজন তোম্বার। জিউ দিছ লইবা তুম্বা সয়াল সংসার ॥  
শুনি তুট করতার কহিলা বচন। নূরস্থানে মুরীদ হও তুম্বা সর্বজন ॥  
আজ্ঞারূপে নূরস্থানে বন্দাগণ গেলা। কলিমা পড়িয়া সব মুরীদ হইল ॥"  
সপ্তজ্ঞান-প্রদীপ।

### 3. Theory of love (*prema*).

Among the Northern Indian and later Bengali Sūfīs, there are many points of similarity in the general conception of love.

It is not necessary to note them here. What Conception of we like to point out is the main departures from love. the general conception.

The first departure to note is this that later Sūfīs of Bengal postulate love to be the ultimate cause of creation. They are of the opinion that the universe would not have been created, if love could not animate God to do so. It is regarded as the guiding principle of universe and the only subtle tie that has linked the three worlds with one another :

“God has created the world for love.

He created the three worlds and linked them with one another by the tie of love.<sup>1</sup>

The second and the most conspicuous departure is found in the conception of relation between God and man. Although later Sūfīs of Bengal and their Northern Indian predecessors recognize the only relation i. e. the relation of love between God and man, yet the conception of the former is quite different in nature from that of the latter. In spite of the employment of terms ‘*Āshiq* and *Ma’shuq* for man and God, the conception of love of Northern Indian Sūfīs is predominantly masculine in nature. This love may be called affection between two male friends and not between two friends of different sexes. But the conception of love among later Sūfīs of Bengal is quite different. It is that kind of love which can grow among persons, of different sexes, more particularly between husband and wife. It is essentially feminine in character in the sense that God is conceived as the Male and individual souls are His so many wives :

1. “প্রেমহেতু করিলেন্ত সংসার স্বজন ।  
প্রেম ডোরে বান্ধিয়া স্বজিল ত্রিভুবন ॥”

জ্ঞান-সাগর পৃঃ ২৬ ।

But a woman creates a scandal by marrying two husbands  
Whom it is difficult to serve.<sup>1</sup>

The third departure of later Şuflis of Bengal is their unusual stress laid on the importance of literature on love. Sacredness attributed to love has been extended to its literature to such an extent as to make it unusually sanctified and hallowed. This is why we see, the place of literature on love is given above all the scriptures of the world :

Such matchlessly sanctified character of love-literature is attributed to the reason that this literature directly appeals to the heart which is enlivened by its study to lead a man ultimately to emancipation through the attainment of perfection i. e. *Siddhi* :

1. “শত রামা এক নরে,  
হেন নীতি প্রভুর উত্তম।  
যুগস্থামী নারী একে,  
যুগকান্ত সেবিতে বিষম।”

2. “অক্ষরে যথেক শাস্ত্র করেছে লিখন।  
প্রেম পাঠ সম এক নহে কদাচন॥”

3. “প্রেমের অক্ষর পাঠ থাকে হৃদাস্তর।  
সেই পাঠে সর্বসিদ্ধি পায় মুক্তিবর॥”

আনন্দে রাখিতে পারে,  
রাখিতে কলঙ্ক ঠেকে,  
জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ৮।  
জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ৩৮।  
জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ৩৯।

## 4. Importance of human body.

In the theory of '*Qurbat*' or divine proximity already discussed in connection with the theoretical aspect of the Indian Sūfīs, we have marked this tendency assuming form among the early Sūfīs of Northern India. Here in Bengal, this tendency became unexpectedly crystallised in course of time in an almost deviated form. In spite of all its deviations, later Sūfīs of Bengal try to vindicate their own position through a declaration, where reference is made to the injunction of Islām for the culture of self. They say,—the Prophet says, "*Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa rabbahu,*" i. e. whoever knows himself, knows his Lord. Therefore acquisition of the knowledge of self is a bounden duty of every Muslim who intends to know Allāh. In their opinion knowledge of self is the means to the realisation of God, and the knowledge of self simply means a few mechanical processes of the performance of physical austerities, of which we shall discuss later on. Therefore, they say :

"If an investigation ( through the practice of physical austerities ) is made into the body, Lord is met there. This the Prophet has repeatedly said.

The body is the House of God ; greatest perfection can be attained by its agency, and Millions of Meccas are not equal to it ( in sanctity )".<sup>1</sup>

Again :

Hear me O 'Alī : let me make you understand this,  
Know thy own self and then thou wilt attain gnosis.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 "বিচারি চাহিলে তন, পায় প্রভু দরশন,  
রস্মলে কহিছে বারে বার ।  
তন ঈশ্বরের ঘর, কারা লক্ষ্যে সিদ্ধিবর,  
কোটি মজা নহে সমস্বর ॥" জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ৬০ ।
- 2 "শুন শুন ওহে আলী তোমাকে বুঝাই ।  
আপনে আপনা চিন তবে জ্ঞান পাই ॥" জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।

It is here necessary to note that interpretation of the above Ḥadīth is not in line with the interpretation given by the Muslim theologians, who say, God has very skilfully and mysteriously created the human body and if people want to realise God, the Unseen One, they should first turn their attention to the skill and mystery of God, manifest in the creation of human body. In other words the nature of God can only be understood in reference to His skilful and mysterious creation of the universe in general and human body in particular.

In the passage quoted above, one thing should be marked, and that is the epithet “House of God” (*Iṣvarer Ghar*) given to the human body. The phrase *Iṣvarer Ghar* or *Baytullāh* generally means Mecca, the most sacred and sanctified place of pilgrimage to the Muslims. But here the employment of the phrase *House of God* for the human body, could not unfortunately satisfy later Ṣūfis of Bengal and hence they said “millions of Meccas are not equal to a human body in sanctity”. In this way, an unusual importance has been attributed to a human body.

However, sanctified character of a human body begins with the notion of its being a residence of God :

“Creating the charming idol of human body from earth,  
God wilfully made it His own residence”.<sup>1</sup>

Though God resides in a human body, He does not live in any particular part of it, for, He pervades the whole of it :

“Allāh is in the human body pervading it all over ;  
Gazing steadily at, try to recognize Him.”<sup>2</sup>

A man of flesh and blood commits vice or acquires virtues ; but God residing in the body is free from all vices and virtues :

“God residing in the body is free from vice and virtue  
Worship His feet with utmost care”.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 “মাটি হস্তে গড়ি প্রভু মোহন মুরতি ।  
তার মধ্যে করে প্রভু আপনে বসতি ॥” জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ৪৩ ।
- 2 “কাল্মাতে যে আল্লা আছর সর্বত্রয় ।  
দেখিতে দেখিতে তানে কর পরিচয় ॥” সপ্ত জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।
- 3 “পাপ-পুণ্য বর্জিত যে শরীরে ঈশ্বর ।  
সেবিও পরম যত্নে চরণ তাহার ॥”

God created the human body, and He created it with so much care, caution and skill that it turned out a charming residence for Him. When He completed its creation, He deposited in it all the glories belonging to Him. Thus a human body became a repository of all the glories of God.<sup>1</sup> But this is not all. Owing to the wonderful creation of God, it became a representative of the whole universe. In it, regions of heaven, earth and hell are found together :

“In the body are found seven islands ( *i.e.* world ), seven nether worlds,

Seven heavens and ten wide doors”.<sup>2</sup>

In this way, importance of the body is unduly increased. Such a body can, by no means be neglected. Therefore, advice is given to keep the body sound and durable by the constant practice of devotional austerities :

“Everything is annihilated, but time is not,.

Knowing this, practise physical austerities of yoga.”<sup>3</sup>

### 5. The Prophet.

The Prophet is generally regarded by later Sufis of Bengal as the ultimate cause of creation. It is held that due to the

- 1 “বিবিধ-যতনে প্রভু আপে করতার । মাটির মুরতি কৈল জগতে প্রচার ।  
আপনার যতেক মহিমা নিরাজনে ( হৃদিকার কুণ্ডলের রাখিছে যতনে ।  
জ্ঞান-সাগর পৃঃ ৪০ ।

- 2 “শরীরেতে সপ্তদীপ, এ সপ্ত পাতাল ।

সপ্ত সর্গ আছে, দশ দ্বার বিশাল ॥ জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ

This verse requires some elucidation. According to Hindu mythology, this world consists of seven islands and heaven and hell consist of seven regions each. The names of the seven constituent islands of the world are, Jambu, Plakṣa, Śālmali, Kuṣa, Krauñcha, Puṣkar. Seven heavens are : Bhū, Bhuva, Sva, Maha, Jana, Tapa, Satya. Seven hells are :- Atal, Bital, Sital, Talātal, Mahātala, Rasātala and Pātāl. In the present verse, these things are referred to.

- 3 “সকল নাশ হইলে কালের নাহিক মরণ ।  
এতেক জানিয়া কর কায়ার সাধন ॥”

জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।

creation of Muḥammad, the whole creation came into being.

How Muḥammad was first created is fantastically

(“নূর মোহাম্মদ হস্তে উপজিল সৃষ্টি।” সপ্ত জ্ঞান প্রদীপ)

The Prophet. interesting to know : First of all God was one and

hence He was alone. Afterwards, He felt the thrill

of love. This happened in the manner of Pygmalion, the legendary sculptor of the Greeks who fell in love with the statue of a beautiful woman, he was carving out. We have already discussed, how God manifested Himself in light (*Nūr*) from darkness with which He was originally enwrapped. After His manifestation in “Light”, He became thoroughly infatuated with it and began to gaze at the beauty of His light. For thousands and thousands of years, God was in the state of infatuation. Then a long separation with light followed and taking advantage of this long separation, love began to be deeper and deeper :

“The Lord became infatuated with the beauty of His light.

He fell in love with it and began to gaze at it.

He was in meditation for ninety-thousand years ;

Both He and His light became infatuated with each other.

Then Lord *Karatara* concealed His body

For three laks and ninety thousand years.

His body being concealed, He felt the pangs of separation ;

Becoming a great *Yogī*, *Nūr* began to cry (*for union*)”.\*

In this way when God felt a strong thrill of love, He required a concrete object of love for its outward manifestation. His requirement compelled Him to give a concrete shape to His light or ‘*Nūr*’ in the creation of Muḥammad. This is why, Muḥammad is sometimes called ‘*Nūr Muḥammad*’ or Muhammad, the Light of God. This idea is fully embodied in the following lines :

(\*) “নূরের রঞ্জেতে প্রভু মোহিত হইলা । আশক হইয়া রঙ্গ হেরিতে লাগিলা ।

নব্বই হাজার বৎসর ধ্যানেন্তে আছিল । দোহানের রঙ্গে দুহুঁ মোহিত হইল ॥

তিন লাখ নব্বই হাজার বৎসর । নিজ অঙ্গ ছাপাইল প্রভু করতার ॥

নিজ অঙ্গ না দেখিয়া হইলা বিরোগী । কালিতে লাগিলা নূর হই মহাবোগী ॥

সপ্তজ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।





Thou art the Creator and thou representeth *Shaykh* (i.e. *Pīr*);  
Thou art the everlasting *Bindu* (lit. a dot) and thou representeth it :<sup>1</sup>

It is here necessary to point out that in the identification of Muḥammad with God, the *Avatara* theory ( i.e. the theory of incarnation ) of the Hindus worked sufficiently to modify, rather to mould the original Islāmic ideas. The Prophet has repeatedly emphasised on his being a human being. The Qurʾān itself says,—“*Qul, innamā anā baṣharun-m-miṭḥalakum*”, i. e. “Say, surely I am a man like you”. How these explicit announcements of Islām could be altogether discarded, unless the Hindu theory of incarnation was at work to modify insidiously the Islāmic injunctions ? It is only Hindus and Christians who believe that God can be incarnated in man. For this reason, any man of exceptional merit and religious bent of mind is regarded by the Hindus as an *Avatāra*.

#### 6. The *Guru* or preceptor

From our discussion on the practical aspect of the Northern Indian Śūfīs, it will be seen that the tendency towards regarding a *Murshid* as the only living representative of God on earth, had already made its appearance among the early *Guru*, Śūfīs of Northern India. This tendency matured in Bengal in course of the following years and we are surprised to see that *Murshid* of the early Śūfīs became completely identical with a Hindu *Guru*. The replacement of *Murshid*-conception by the *Guru*-conception of the Hindus is one of the marked features found among later Śūfīs of Bengal. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a Muslim *Guru* became, just like a Hindu *Guru*, the living manifestation of God on earth, and the “*Śisyas*” or disciples of a *Guru*, were consequently looking upon him with a divinely respectful eye :

- 1 “তুমি নবী পরগম্বর ত্রিদেশ অধিকারী ।  
তুমি সে পরম তত্ত্ব প্রভুরূপ ধারী ॥  
চন্দ্র, সূর্য রূপ তুমি, তুমি সে আকাশ ।  
তুমি নবগ্রহ, বায়ু, বরুণ, হতাশ ॥

"Guru is the greatest gnosis and he is *Īṣvara* i. e. God.  
From favour of the *Guru*, greatest perfection for emancipation  
can come.<sup>1</sup>

Such notion of divinity ascribed to a *Guru*, led the later *Ṣūfīs* of Bengal to offer their choicest and sincerest devotion to the "lotus-feet" of their *Gurus* and to sacrifice all they possessed for the sake of them :

"Wife, son, wealth, power, and all the belongings—  
You should offer to both the lotus-feet of the *Guru*".<sup>2</sup>

### 7. Yoga and Yogī.

At the very outset, it is necessary to point out that later *Ṣūfīs* of Bengal have identified Muslim *Taṣawwuf* with Hindu *Yoga* and Muslim divines i. e., *Ṣūfīs* with Hindu saints *Yogīs*. It is quite misleading to think that they only translated *Yoga* and *Yogī*, the Arabic terms into Bengali. It is not a mere translation, rather it is the actual identification or harmonisation of the *Ṣūfī* system of Islāmic thought with the *Yoga* system of Hindu philosophy. From a study of the present literature, we clearly see, the definitions and meanings of *Yogī* and *Yoga* given by later *Ṣūfīs* of Bengal, are much more akin and similar to Hindu philosophy and thought than Islāmic ones. Quite in consonance with the line of thought developed among later *Ṣūfīs* of Bengal, *Yoga* may be defined as the union between God and man by abstract contemplation and meditation combined

তুমি সে জগতশুদ্ধি অখোনি-সম্ভবা।

ব্যক্ত অব্যক্ত নাম সে তুমি সর্বদেবা ॥

তুমি স্বষ্টিকর্তা হও, তুমি শেকরূপ।

তুমি বিন্দু সনাতন, তুমি বিন্দুরূপ ॥

জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ।

- 1 "গুরু সে পরম জ্ঞান গুরু সে ঈশ্বর।  
গুরু কৃপা হস্তে সর্বসিদ্ধি মুক্তিবর।

জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ১৯।

- 2 'ত্নী, পুত্র, ধন, জন, সম্পত্তি সকলে।  
দেবেক গুরুর ব্লগ চরণ কমলে ॥"

জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ১৯।

with concrete practices and a *Yogī* is one who either strives for the completion of this union or has already completed it.<sup>1</sup>

*Yoga* is an everlasting thing ; it is instrumental to the attainment of great gnosis (“যোগ না চিন্তিলে লোক পায় মহাজ্ঞান ।”) Everything in the world will vanish, but *Yoga* will survive all. It is said, “The world will be destroyed, but *Yoga* will last for ever” ( “সংসার হইবে ধ্বংস যোগ রহিবে স্থির ।” ). It is a controlling agent for the human mind which is always restless. In order to make one’s mind steady, he should take recourse to *Yoga*. Besides, by the constant practice of *Yoga*, a human body can avoid all susceptibilities to mortal diseases :

“Make your mind steady by the constant practice of *Yoga*  
No human body can last without the practice of *Yoga*”.<sup>2</sup>

The *Yogīs* occupy a very exalted position among later Śūfis of Bengal, who glorify them in extravagant terms. It is held that they are the confidants of God’s secret. They received this secret from ‘Alī who received it from Muḥammad. Importance of the *Yogīs* as the saviors of the earth is another thing to be noted. It is said that they are the men for whom the whole order of creation is in tact :

“The gnosis of Lord was hidden ;  
Muḥammad informed ‘Alī of this gnosis.  
Due to its influence, *Yogīs* came into being ;  
Had it not been the case, people would have been disregarded”<sup>3</sup>

- 1 “শুন্যোতে পরম হংস, শূন্যে ব্রহ্মজ্ঞান । যথাতে পরম হংস, তথা যোগাধ্যান ॥  
যে জানে হংসের তত্ত্ব, সেই সার যোগী । সেইসব শূন্যযোগী হয় শূন্য ভোগী॥  
সিদ্ধ এক শূন্য এক এইসে যুগল । যে সবে এ তত্ত্ব পালে সে তনু নিম্নল ॥  
যুগল ভজন হেতু যোগী ধরে নাম । যুগল বিছনে সিদ্ধি নাহি মনস্কাম ॥”  
জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ২২-২৩ ।

- 2 “যোগ চিন্তি সর্বদায় মন কর স্থির ।  
বিনা যোগে কাহারও যে না রহে শরীর ।”

জ্ঞান প্রদীপ

- 3 প্রভুর গোপন তত্ত্ব আছিল গোপনে । সেই তত্ত্ব মোহাম্মদ জানায় আলী স্বানে॥  
সে তত্ত্ব প্রভাবে হইল যোগিগণ সব । নহে নরকুল সব পাইত লাঘব ॥”  
জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ৪০ ।

Extolment of the *Yogīs* has not been stopped here ; it has increased further. The *Yogīs* have been given a place as dignified as that of the prophets. We are told that unfortunately prophethood has come to its end with Muḥammad. Otherwise Darvishes rather *Yogīs* would have been prophets :

“If prophethood would not have ended with Muḥammad,  
All Darvishes would have turned into Apostles.  
No prophet appeared after Muḥammad,  
This is why the *Tapasvīs* (i. e. *Yogīs*) were born as friends  
of God.<sup>1</sup>

Again :

The heaven that is situated above the eighth one  
Is the residence of all *Yogīs* and Prophets.<sup>2</sup>

#### Practical aspect of the later Sūfis of Bengal.

‘*Darveshī*’, better known as ‘*Brahmatattva*’, or the practical aspect of gnosis of the later Sūfis of Bengal consists of their knowledge in nine subjects. The general orders of these nine subjects, have been furnished by different authorities. Practical aspect of the later Sūfis They all generally agree with one another. Slight of Bengal. variations found here and there, may easily be ignored without doing any real harm excepting technical one to the main purport and order of the list. Only a slightly modified version of the list we quote here as a preface to the present discussion :

“Firstly you should know all the discourses on ‘*Darveshī*’.  
Secondly you should know all kinds of worship of God.  
Thirdly you should know all the discourses on *Tan*.”

1 “পন্নগম্বরী যদি হইত রসুলে সে শেষ ।

রসুল হইত সার সকল দবেশ ॥

মোহাম্মদ পরে আর রসুলে না হইল ।

তাহেতু প্রভুর সখা তপস্বী জন্মিল ॥” জ্ঞান সাগর, পৃঃ ১০৬ ।

“অষ্টম সর্গের পরে যেই সর্গ হয়,

সেই স্থানে যত যোগী নবীর আলয় ॥” জ্ঞান-সাগর, পৃঃ ১০৭ ।

Fourthly you should know all the mysteries of self,  
 Fifthly you should know all the secrets of examining a *Dil*  
 or mind,  
 Sixthly you should know all the discourses on *Nāḍī* or nerves.  
 Seventhly you should know the location of *Bindu* ( i. e. semen. )  
 Eighthly you should be acquainted with *Ṣaṭachakra*.  
 Ninthly you should know what is called '*Brahmatattva*.'  
 And those actions that should be done through different  
 processes.<sup>1</sup>

It is absolutely necessary to note here that the whole foundation of practical aspect of the later Ṣūfīs of Bengal is based on the theory of microcosmic notion about human body. We have already discussed about the importance of the human body, in connection with which microcosmic notion about human body has been noted. Fundamental idea of the whole practical aspect is this that God must be realised within a human body and not elsewhere. Therefore, certain processes have either been invented, or borrowed for the purpose of realising God within human physique. These processes have been systematised and practised as a result of which we get a ready-made and elaborate list of practices. These practices we are going to discuss below.

#### 1. Discourse on *Darveshī*.

The first duty of a prospective *Darvesh* is to acquire general knowledge of *Darveshī*. It consists of some descriptive ideas about *Maqāms*, *Manzils*, *Dhikr*, '*Unāsir* *Darveshī* ect. The following table will give a rough idea of *Darveshī*:-

- 1 "প্রথমে জানিবে যত দর্বেশী বিচার।  
 দ্বিতীয় জানিবে যত বন্দেগী খোদার ॥  
 তৃতীয়ে জানিবে যত তনের বিচার।  
 চতুর্থে জানিবে যত তত্ত্ব আপনার ॥  
 পঞ্চমে জানিবে তত্ত্ব দিলেই দেখন।  
 ষষ্ঠমে জানিবে যত নাড়ীর বর্ণন ॥  
 সপ্তমে জানিবে যথা বিন্দু থাকর।  
 অষ্টমে জানিবে ষট্চক্র পরিচয় ॥  
 নবমে জানিবে ব্রহ্মতত্ত্ব কহি যারে।  
 যে কার্য করিবে সাধ্য যেমত প্রকারে ॥

Darvieshi in Tabular Form

Names of Maqāms.	Nāsūt.	Malkūt.	Jabrūt	Lāhūt.
Situations of Maqāms in the human body.	Sacral region	Region of navel	Sinciput	Heart
Guardian angels of Maqāms	Azrā'il	Isrā'īl	Mikā'il	Jibrā'il
Forms generally assumed by the guardian angels.	Tiger	Serpent	Elephant	Pea-cock
'Unāsir or elements corresponding to Maqāms.	Fire	Air	Water	Earth
Colours of elements	Red	Green	White	Yellow.
Manzils corresponding to Maqāms.	Sharī'at	Ṭarīqat	Ḥaqīqat	Ma'rafat
Obligations of Manzils	Imān, Namāz Rūzah, Ḥajj, Zakāt.	Extinction of lust, anger avarice, infatua- tion.	Absorption in the thought of God.	Knowledge of one's own self.
Dhikr prescribed for Manzils.	La ilāha illallāh. or There is no God but Allāh	Yā hū or O He ;	Hū Hū or He, He	Allāh hū or Allāh is He
Chakras in Yoga correspon- ding Maqāms.	Mulādhāra	Maṇipura	Ājñā	Anāhata.
Seasons prevailing in Maqāms.	Grisma or Summer.	Hemanta or Early winter.	Basanta or Spring.	Śarat or Autumn.

Everything put in a nutshell in the above table has been described at a considerable length in different books. The appendix to the previous chapter will elucidate the table.

## 2. Worship of God.

Secondly different kinds of worship of God is prescribed for an aspirant after *Darveghi*. Variation in the forms of worship is due to the variation in agencies used for worship such as ears, nose, mouth etc. The worship is of simpler nature. It simply means

that ears, nose, mouth etc, through the agency of  
Worship of which worship is to be conducted, should be rightly  
God. used in honest and pious purpose. Here is a description of the worship of mouth :

“Hear something about the worship of mouth,—  
Constantly perform *Dhikr* along with every respiration ;  
Always peruse the *Qurān* attentively ;  
Entertain people carefully with kind words.”<sup>1</sup>

## 3. Discourse on *Tan*.

The third obligation of a novice is to acquire a general knowledge of *Tan*. The word *Tan* literally means a human body, but later Śūfīs of Bengal hold that there are four  
Discourse on other subtle bodies within a human body and that  
*Tan*, these four subtle bodies are called *Tan*. The names  
of four subtle bodies and translation of these terms  
are as follows :

Names of <i>Tan</i>		Translations.
1, <i>Tan Laṭīf</i>	...	Delicate Body
2. <i>Tan Kaṣṣhīf</i>	...	Unveiled Body
3. <i>Tan Baqā</i>	...	Everlasting Body
4. <i>Tan Fānī</i>	...	Annihilatory Body.

- (1) “মুখের এবাদত কিছু শুনহ বচন ।  
হৃদমে জিকির ভরিবে সর্বক্ষণ ॥  
কোরান পড়িবে নিত্য হইয়া একমনে ।  
লোকেরে পীরিতি বলিবে যতনে ॥

জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।



What are the natures and characteristics of these bodies and what purpose they serve in a human being of flesh and blood, we do not know. We are only told to know of them from the oral explanation of a *Guru* ( *Yoga Kalandar*. v. 87-88 ).

#### 4. Mysteries of the Self.

Knowledge in mysteries of the self is the fourth obligation of an apprentice. Quintessence of mysteries of the self is to know that :

Mysteries of the "All qualities of the universe are in the body; Self. How far a man of little intelligence like me can describe them."<sup>1</sup>

The first set of things that are mentioned to be found in a human body are known as the eighteen *Maqāms*. These *Maqāms* should not be confounded with the four *Maqāms* already mentioned. These are said to have been a set of eighteen necessary things for the constitution of a man, while those four are simply some definite places in a human body. Out of the eighteen *Maqāms*, four viz., semen, nerves, bones, and brain belong to father ; four viz., blood, flesh, skin, hair belong to mother and the remaining ten are completely under divine dispensation. Amongst these ten, only four viz. life, death, subsistence, and wealth are predestined things in the sense that they are destined before the birth of a child, and the other six, such as, happiness, misery, wisdom, love, bravery, and thoughtfulness ( in the enumeration of these, there are differences of opinion ) are post-destined things in the sense that they are believed to have written on the fore-head of a new-born baby on the sixth month ( ? or sixth day—*Saṣṭhī* ? ) of its birth. ( *Yoga Kālandar* ; *Sapta Jnāna Pradīpa* ; *Jnāna Pradīpa* ).

According to Hindu astrology, there are nine planets which have specific influence on the human being. These nine planets are said to have their seats at different places of human body. They do not tally in all respects with the modern astronomical table of the planets ; nevertheless the following comparative table is helpful to understand present discussion :

1. "ব্রহ্মাণ্ডের যত গুণ, সে গুণ শরীরে।

অল্প বুদ্ধি মুঞি কত পারম কহিবারে ॥"

জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ।

The table. (1)

Nos.	Names of planets according to Hindu astrology.	Names of planets according to modern astronomy.	Situations of the planets in human body.
1	Rabi or Sūrya	Sun	Navel.
2	Soma or Chandra	Moon	Sinciput.
3	Mangala	Mars	Eyes.
4	Budha	Mercury	Near the heart
5	Brihaspati or Guru	Jupitar.	Within the heart
6	Sukra	Venus	The places where semen lies during different lunar dates.
7	Śani	Saturn	Throat
8	Rāhu : A demon said to be the cause of eclipse.	Ascending node (lunar)	Mouth.
9	Ketu A demon said to be the brother of Rāhu.	Descending node (lunar)	Mouth.

1. “আর এক কথা কহি কর অবগতি : নবগ্রহ যেইস্থানে করয় বসতি ॥  
নাভির মূলেতে রবি, তালুতে সোম বসে । চক্ষুতে মঙ্গল, বুধ হৃদয় সকাশে ॥  
হৃদয়ের মধ্যভাগে গুরু বসতি । শুক্ৰস্থানে শুক্ৰ রহে জানহ সংস্থিতি ॥  
কণ্ঠে শনি, মুখে রাহু রবির উদয় । রাহুস্থানে বসে কেতু জানিও নিশ্চয় ॥  
জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।

The next things existing in the human body are the *Vedas*, the sacred scriptures of the Hindus. The *Vedas* are classified under two headings, viz., the known ones which are four in number, and the unknown ones which are two in number. Known ones are *Rik*, *Sāma*, *Yajur* and *Atharva*. The two unknown *Vedas* are not named and we are told to take the help of a *Guru* called Pravandana or Pramodana to hear about them. It is said that the *Rik Veda* lies in anus, the *Yajur*, in navel, the *Sama*, in the ears and the *Atharva*, in the mouth.<sup>1</sup>

The next things to be found in the body are the seven mountains mentioned in the Hindu mythological literature. The names of these mountains are Udaygiri, Astagiri, Manigiri, Kuṭtagiri, Hemagiri and Merugiri, ( *Yoga Kālandar*, V. 89-91 ). Exact situations of these mountains in the human body are not mentioned in any book.

There are ten openings in a body and they are called *Daśa Dvāra* or ten doors in the phraseology of the Tantras. These are two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, one mouth, one anus, one sexual organ and a navel ( *Yoga Kālandar*, V. 92-93 ). These doors are shut up or the functions of these organs are stopped during the time of Yoga practices.

### 5. *Dil* or Mind.

The fifth obligation of a learner of *Darveshī* is to examine his mind. Mind has been described to be of four kinds, viz. *Dil Mudawwarī*, *Dil Sanawwarī*, *Dil Ambarī* and *Dil Nilufarī*

1. “আর এক কথা কহি কর অবগতি ।  
চারি বেদ যেইস্থানে করয় বসতি ॥  
গুদ মূলে ঋকবেদ করয় নিবাস ।  
নাভিমূলে যজুর্বেদ করয় প্রকাশ ॥  
কর্ণমূলে সামবেদ করয় বসতি ।  
মুখেতে অথর্ববেদ করয় সংস্থিতি ॥  
এই চারি বেদ আমি করিলুঙ প্রচার ।  
বিশেষ যে গুপ্ত কহি দুই বেদ সার ॥  
ইহারে শুনিতে যদি কর হাবিলাষ ।  
ঝাট করি চল গুরু প্রবলন ( ? প্রমোদন ) পাশ ।

জ্ঞান-প্রদীপ ।

( *Yoga Kālandar*, V. 152-153 ). In books like *Jñāna Pradīpa* and *Sapta Jñāna Pradīpa*, a long description has been given to show the kinetic character of mind. We do not think it necessary to describe its character here.

#### 6. Discourse on *Nāḍī* or nerves.

The sixth obligation is to know the situations of nerves in human body. It is said that there are altogether 360 main nerves ( *Yoga Kālandar*, V. 155 ). and again it is said that thousands of nerves flow in a human body out of these Discourse on innumerable nerves only ten are principal ( *Jñāna Nāḍī* or nerves. *Pradīpa* ). It is simply useless to give a detailed description of these nerves. They not only agree in names, such as *Ingalā*, *Pingalā*, *Susumnā* etc., but also in description and situation given in the books of Tantra.

#### 7. Situations of Semen.

The seventh obligation is to know the situation of semen, generally called *Ghāndra* or *Bindu*, in a human body. The main principle is this that semen situates at different Situations of parts of human body on different dates of lunar Semen. month.

#### 8. *Saṭaḥakra*

The eighth obligation is to know about *Saṭaḥakra*, or the six centres of light in a human body. We have elsewhere mentioned that the *Saṭaḥakras* of the Yogis exactly correspond to the six *Laṭīfahs* of the *Śūfis*. That later *Śūfis* of Bengal *Saṭaḥakra* completely replaced the *Laṭīfahs* by the introduction of *Saṭaḥakra Sādhan*, is proved beyond doubt by the fact that we do not find the names of *Laṭīfahs* in their literature.

9. *Brahmatattva.*

The final obligation is the acquisition of *Brahmatattva* or Divine Knowledge i. e., knowledge of the Supreme, through the *Brahmatattva* process of breath and nerve control. In this connection, *Mudrā*, *Dhyāna*, *Dhāraṇā* etc are suggested as the means of attaining *Brahmatattva*.

Such was the condition of Sufism in Bengal upto the middle of the nineteenth century A. D. In fact, this was one of the main currents of Islām in Bangal, which gave birth to a new type of Islām, we have already discussed in pretty details under the caption of "Popular Islām." None but a few puritanic Muslims ever raised even a feeble voice against this state of affairs upto the end of the eighteenth century A. D. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, orthodox Muslims of Bengal bestirred themselves and began to organise puritanic movements among the Muslim masses. These reformatory movements had only one aim in common and that is—"Back to the pristine Islām based on the Qurān and the *Ḥadīth*." This is a different story to tell.

The End

## A Bibliography of Selected Books

### A. Persian & Urdu.

1. *Dīwān-i-Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī* ( Delhi ).
2. *Dīwān-i-Khwājah Qutbu-'d-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī* ( Delhi ).
3. *Mathnawī-i-Bū 'Alī Shah Qalandar* ( Bazar edition ).
4. *Mathnawī-i-Shaykh Bahlul* ( Bazar edition ).
5. *Rubā'iyat-i-Sarmad* ( Bazar edition ).
6. *Sirāju-'l-Bārī—Qādī Abdu-'l-Bārī* ( Calcutta )
7. *'Awarifu-'l-Ma'ārif—Shihābu-'d-Dīn Suhrawardī.*
8. *Mirāt-i-Madārī* ( Manuscript No 88, Buhār Library, ( Calcutta )
9. *Majma'u-'l-Bahrayn* ( 1929 )-Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
10. *Maktubāt-i-Mujaddid-i-Alf-Thani* ( MSS-Burdwan ) Lakhnow, 1877.
11. *Tarikh-i-Frishtah*, Chapter. XII—Published by Abdu-'l-Qayyum, Calcutta.
12. *Madhhibu-'l-Islām* ( 1924 )—Published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lakhnow, U. P.
13. *Kashfu-'l-Mahjūb* ( 1911 )—Trans. R. A. Nicholson.
14. *Ain-i-Akbarī*—vol. III ( 1894, Calcutta )—Trans. H. S. Jarrett.
15. *Muntaḥhabu-'t-Tawārikh*—vol. V.—Elliot & Dowson.
16. *Tarikh-i-Firāz Shāhī*—vol. III—Elliot & Dowson.
17. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*—Trans. Raverty.
18. *Riyāḍu-'s-Salātīn*-( Bibliotheca Indica )-Calcutta.
19. *Khurshid-i-Jahān Numa*-Persian MSS., Buhār Library. Calcutta.
20. *Tadhkirah-i-Awliyā-i-Hind* ( Urdu )-Mirza Muḥammad Akhtār Dehlawi, ( Published from Delhi ).
21. *M'amulāt-i-Mazhariyah*-Mirza Mazhar Jān Jānān.
22. *Musliku-'s-Sālikīn* ( Urdu )-Mirza Muḥammad Abdu-'s-Sattār Beg.
23. *Siyaru-'i-Mutakhirīn* ( Eng. Tran. ), vol II.
24. *Tadhkiratu-'l-Awliyā*—Faridu-'d-Dīn 'Aṭṭar, ed. R. A. Nicholson, London. 1905-7.
25. *Afāsu-'l-'Arifīn* ( Delhi, 1897 )— Do
26. *Rawzatu-'s-Safā* ( Tran. )—Mir Khwānd—E. Rehatsek ( Cal. 1893. )

## B. Arabic

1. The Holy Qurān-Maulana Muhammad Ali (Lahore)-Text & Tran.
2. *Miḥkāṭu'l-Masābih*.
3. *An-Nawadiru-'l-'Ayniyyati fi-'l-Bawādiru-l-Ghaybiyyati* ( Selected portion only ; printed as an appendix to "*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*" by R. A. Nicholson )—Abdu-'l-Karim al-Jili.
4. *Al-Qawlu-'l-Jamīl* (Lahore)—*Shāh Walī Allāh Mahaddith Dehlawi*.

## C. Bengali

- ১। ভারতীয় মধ্যযুগে সাধনার ধারা—ক্ষিতিমোহন সেন (কলিকাতা বিশ্ব-বিদ্যালয়, ১৯২৮)
- ২। বাঙ্গালার ইতিহাস, প্রথম ও দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড, প্রথম সংস্করণ—রাখাল দাস বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় (কলিকাতা)
- ৩। এরশাদে-খালেকীয়া, দ্বিতীয় সংস্করণ—আবদুল করিম (যশোহর)
- ৪। শেক শুবোদয়া (বাংলাষেঁবা সংস্কৃত)—সুকুমার সেন সম্পাদিত (হমিকেশ সিরিস সংখ্যা, ২)
- ৫। বিক্রমপুরের ইতিহাস—যোগেন্দ্রনাথ গুপ্ত
- ৬। চণ্ডীমঙ্গল কাব্য—মুকুন্দরাম কবিকঙ্কণ
- ৭। পূর্ববঙ্গ গীতিকা (কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়)—দীনেশচন্দ্র সেন সম্পাদিত
- ৮। বাঙ্গালা প্রাচীন পুঁথির বিবরণ, প্রথম ও দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড, ১০২১ সন,—  
আবদুল করিম সাহিত্যবিশারদ
- ৯। চৈতন্য চরিতামৃত—কৃষ্ণদাস কবিরাজ (বাজার সংস্করণ), কলিকাতা
- ১০। চৈতন্য ভাগবত—বৃন্দাবন দাস (বাজার সংস্করণ), কলিকাতা
- ১১। চৈতন্য মঙ্গল—জয়ানন্দ (বাজার সংস্করণ), কলিকাতা
- ১২। অষ্টৈতপ্রকাশ—ঈশান নাগর—(বাজার সংস্করণ), কলিকাতা
- ১৩। ভারতবর্ষীয় উপাসক সম্প্রদায়—অক্ষয়কুমার দত্ত (কলিকাতা)
- ১৪। হারামণি, প্রথম ভাগ,—মুহম্মদ মনসুর উদ্দীন (কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়)
- ১৫। নদীয়া কাহিনী—কুমুদনাথ মল্লিক

- ১৬। আসাম ও বাঙ্গালার বিবাহ-পদ্ধতি—বিজয়ভূষণ ঘোষ ( ১৩৩৯ বাং )  
( গুরুদাস চট্টোপাধ্যায় এণ্ড্‌ সন্স, কলিকাতা )
- ১৭। জ্ঞান-সাগর—আবদুল করিম সম্পাদিত ( বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষৎ সংস্করণ )
- ১৮। পদকল্পতরু—বৈষ্ণবদাস ( বাজার সংস্করণ, কলিকাতা )
- ১৯। বাঙলার সুফী সাহিত্য—আহমদ শরীফ সম্পাদিত ( বাংলা একাডেমী  
প্রকাশিত, ১৩৭৫=১৯৬৯ ), ঢাকা

#### D. English

1. *Muhammad and Islam*—Igniez Goldziher, ( translated by K. C. Seelye ).
2. *Indian Islam*—M. T. Titus ( Oxford University Press, 1930 ).
3. *Preaching of Islam*—T. W. Arnold ( Westminster, 1896 ).
4. *Contribution to the Geography and History of Bengal*—Blochmann ( Calcutta, 1873 )
5. *Studies in Tasawwuf*—Khaja Khan ( Madras, 1923 ).
6. *Outline of the Religious Literature of India* ( 1920 )—J. N. Farquhar.
7. *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, pt. I & II—Md Abdul Ghani
8. *Kabir's Poems*—Rabindranath Tagore.
9. *Sind and its Sufis*—Jethmal Parsram Gulraj ( Madras, 1924 ).
10. *Muhammedanism*—D. S. Margoliouth.
11. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*—R. A. Nicholson.
12. *Mystics of Islam*—R. A. Nicholson.
13. *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*—R. A. Nicholson.
14. *Literary History of Persia*—E. G. Brown.
15. *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*—Dr. Iqbal ( Punjab )
16. *History of the Saracens*—Amir Ali.
17. *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*—Muhammad Habib ( Aligarh )
18. *History of the Philosophy of Islam*—T. J. de-Boet.
19. *History of Indian Philosophy*—Surendra Nath Dasgupta ( Cambridge University Press, 1922 )



20. *Hindu Mysticism*—Surendra Nath Dasgupta ( Chicago, 1927 )
21. *The Serpent Power* ( Second Edn )—Arthur Avalon ( Madras 1924 )
22. *Yoga* ( a study of the mystic philosophy of the Brahmins and Buddhists )—Surendra Nath Dasgupta.
23. *The Study of Patanjali*—Surendra Nath Dasgupta.
24. *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization*—S. Khuda Bakhsh ( Calcutta, )
25. *Coins and Chronology of the Early Sultans of Bengal*—Nalini Kanta Bhattacharya ( Cambridge, England )
26. *History of Bengal* ( 1847 )—Charles Stewart.
27. *Memoirs of Gaur and Paudua*—Abid Ali ( Edited by H. E. Stapleton, Calcutta )
28. *Statistical Accounts of Bengal*—Hunter.
29. *History of Assam* ( Second Edn., 1926 )—Edward Gait.
30. *Chaitanya and His Companions*—Dinesh Chandra Sen.
31. *Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal* ( 1897 )—Hara Prasad Sastri.
32. *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*—W. Crooke
33. *Epigraphica Indica*, vol. II.,
34. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pt. II.
35. *Folk Literature of Bengal* ( Calcutta University )—Dinesh Chandra Sen.
36. *Primitive Semitic Religion Today* ( German Edition, Leipzig, 1903 )
37. *Eastern Bengal Ballad*—Edited by Dinesh Chandra Sen.
38. *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*—Aziz Ahmad ( Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1964 )
39. *Sufism*—A. J. Arberry ( London, 1950 )
40. *The Religions of India*—A. Barth ( London, 1921 )
41. *Dara Shikoh*—Bekramajit Hasrat ( Calcutta, 1953 )
42. *Islam in Bengal*—D. A. Choudhury ( 1928 )
43. 'Hindu Reaction to Muslim Invasions' ( article in the Potdar Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1950 )—R.C. Majumdar.

44. *Indian Theism* (1915)—Mac-Nicol (London),
45. *The Sikh Religion*—M. A. Macauliffe (Oxford, 1909)
46. *Medieval India Under Muhammedan Rule*—S. Lane Poole  
(London, 1926)
47. *Panjabī Sufī Poets*—L. R. Krishna (London, 1938).
48. *Vedānta Sūtras* (Tran.)—Georg Thibaut, ed. Max Muller,  
Oxford, 1890-1896.
49. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1st edition)
50. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (1st edition)
51. *Dictionary of Islam* (Second Edition, 1896)—T. P. Hughes.
52. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,
53. *Bengal District gazetteers*.
54. *East Bengal District gazetteers*.
55. *District Gazetteers of Eastern Bengal and Assam*.
56. *Census Report of India*, vol. vi—E. A. Gait (Beng. Rept.)
57. 'Islam in India'—an article in the *Muslim World*, XV (1925),  
pp. 109-114, by S. M. Zwemer.
58. 'The Influence of Islam on the Cult of Bhakti in Medieval  
India'—an article in the *Islamic Culture*, VII (1933).
59. 'Hinduism according to Muslim *Ṣūfīs*'—J. A. S. B., XI (1923),  
pp. 237-252 by Abdul Wali.
60. *Mutual Influence of Muhammedans and Hindus in India*—  
F. W. Thomas (Cambridge 1892).

1944-1945

1946-1947

1948-1949

1950-1951

1952-1953

1954-1955

1956-1957

1958-1959

1960-1961

1962-1963

1964-1965

1966-1967

1968-1969

1970-1971

1972-1973

1974-1975

## INDEX

### A

- 'Abbasids, the-120.
- 'Abdu-'l Karīm ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jīlī  
( birth-1365 A. D. ) 16, 41.
- 'Abdu-'l Karīm Ṣahītyavīśarad (Maw-  
lawī)-255, 369, 372-374, 376.
- 'Abdu-'l Qādir al-Jīlī ( 1078-1166  
A. D. ) 9, 16, 42, 51, 153, 334.
- 'Abdu-'l Quddūs of Gangūh (d. 1543  
A. D. )-20
- 'Abdu-'l Waḥid bin Zayd-39.
- 'Abdullāh-5,
- 'Abdullāh Ghulam 'Alī Shāh (d. 1824  
A. D. )-51.
- 'Abdullāh Kirmānī Bangālī-43, 148,
- 'Abdullāhpur-6, 210, 211, 213.
- 'Abdullāh Shattārī ( d 1406 A. D. )  
15, 41.
- Abraham-101.
- Abū 'Alī of Sind-133.
- Abū Ishāq Chishtī ( d. 965 A. D. )-  
38.
- Abū Ishāq al-Kazirūnī ( d. 1034  
A. D. )-38, 334.
- Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad bin Aḥmad  
al-Berūnī ( C. 971-1039 A. D. )-122
- Abū Sulaymān-334.
- Abū Ṭalīb-230.
- Abu-'l Faḍl-26, 27, 38, 40, 199.
- Abu-'l Faḍl Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan  
al-Khuttalī-14.
- Abu-'l Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh ( 1478-  
1482 )-222.
- Adam-73, 74, 75.
- Adhamiyah Order-152.
- Afghānistān-8, 12, 14, 48, 70, 117,  
121, 123, 294, 324, 367.
- Agra-179.
- Aḥmadābād-14, 49
- 'Ain-i-Akbarī-37, 40, 45, 159, 160,  
162, 166, 172.
- Ajmir-9, 10, 19, 164.
- Akbar-26, 37, 50, 156, 199, 200, 201,  
322.
- Akhī Sirāju-d-Dīn Badāyunī ( d.  
1357 A. D. ) 12, 148, 149, 168, 170.
- Akhil Chānd-298.
- Alamūt-6.
- 'Alau-'d-Dīn 'Alī Aḥmad ṣābir (1196-  
1291)-12, 43, 44.
- 'Alau-'d-Dīn 'Alau-'l Ḥaqq ( d. 1398  
A. D. )-47, 169-172.
- 'Alau-'d-Dīn 'Alī Shāh ( 1339-1345 )  
-168.
- 'Alau-'d-Dīn Ṭusī-38.
- Alexander-333.
- 'Alī Raja-372, 373, 375, 376.
- 'Alī Qulī Begh-230, 231, 232.
- Allen B. C.-233.
- Amanullāh Khān-256.
- Amir Kalāl-40.
- Anwārā ( thanah )-236, 376.
- Arabia-3, 4, 120, 125, 148, 204, 216,  
334, 347.
- Arabs, the-22, 117, 124, 152, 250,  
333, 366.
- Arfāt Valley-348.
- Armenia-34.
- Aryans, the-22.
- Assam-148, 213, 218, 219, 257, 338.
- Aṣghar-205.
- Āswīn-350.
- Aṭṭava-160.
- Āul-156, 282, 300.

- Āl Chānd-284-286, 298.  
 Aurangzib (Emperor 1656-1707 A.D.)  
   -17, 27, 32, 33, 34, 154, 259.  
 'Awārifu'-l-M'aruf-100.  
 Ayesah-161.  
 Azarbijan-8.  
 Azrail-378, 385, 389, 393, 403.
- B**
- Bābā Ādam Shahid-6, 144, 210-215.  
 Bābā Faridu'-d-Dīn Shakarganj ( d.  
   1177-1269 A. D. ) 11, 12, 44, 239.  
 Bābā Ishāq Maghribī-14, 15, 41.  
 Bactria-121.  
 Badāyūn-13, 44, 163, 168.  
 Badi'u'-d-Dīn (Shah-i-Madar d. 1436  
   A. D.)-18, 19, 30, 41, 345, 346.  
 Badr Shah-236, 245, 250, 252, 257.  
 Badru'-d-Dīn 'Allamah-250.  
 Badru'-d-Dīn Badr-i-'Ālam-202, 247,  
   248, 250.  
 Bāghā-233.  
 Bāghdad-12, 13, 14, 48, 163, 164, 233.  
 Bahāu'-d-Dīn Dhakriya of Multan  
   ( 1169-1266 )-13, 41, 154, 162, 163,  
   164, 167, 188.  
 Bahāu'-d-Dīn of Jaunpur-11.  
 Bahā'u'-d-Dīn Naqshband (Khawajah)  
   (d. 1398)=20, 30, 38, 39, 40.  
 Bahā'u'-d-Dīn Shah-184, 188.  
 Bais Hazari-166.  
 Bakherganj-158, 204, 224, 225, 330.  
 Bakhshi Bazar-236, 243.  
 Bakhthiyar Khilji-262, 263, 264.  
 Balaram-206.  
 Balaram Das-285.  
 Balauhar wa Būdasaf ( Barlam and  
   Josaphat )-122.  
 Bālī-351.  
 Bālka Nāmah-373, 377.  
 Balkh-121.  
 Ballāla Charitam-214.  
 Banachgri-298.  
 Bandah Riza Shah-257.  
 Bāngulā Prāchin Puthir Vīvaṇan-370.  
 Bāngtalā-185.  
 Bānkura-158, 183.  
 Bāra Awliyār Dargah-235.  
 Bāra bazar-327.  
 Barasat-343.  
 Barbak Shah-222.  
 Bargzon-198.  
 Basri Order-36.  
 Baṭ-ṭālī-236, 254.  
 Baul-156, 296, 310, 311.  
 Bauphal-224.  
 Bay of Bengal-206, 239.  
 Bayet sect-199.  
 Bechu Ghose-285.  
 Beda Sena-214.  
 Behulā Legend-350.  
 Benares-24.  
 Bengali Academy-226.  
 Bhadiā-198.  
 Bhādra-331.  
 Bhāgirathi-333.  
 Bhakti-25.  
 Bhāndasi Rāy-182.  
 Bhārat Chandra-( 1712-1760 A. D.)  
   291.  
 Bhawalpur-13.  
 Bhuti-321.  
 Bihar-43, 44, 171, 172, 202, 216, 250,  
   251.  
 Bijli Khān-271.  
 Bikrama Kesarī-183-188.  
 Bikrampur-6, 144, 190, 205, 210, 211,  
   214, 215.  
 Birbhum-43, 148, 158, 172, 183, 197,  
   198, 199, 354.  
 Blochmann-251.  
 Bogra-158, 204, 205, 238, 239, 326.  
   344, 345, 347, 361, 363.  
 Bohras, the-5.  
 Brahma Daitya-354.

Brahmagupta-123.  
 Brindavana-283, 284.  
 Buddha-121.  
 Buhar Library-18.  
 Bukhara-12, 20, 115, 117, 119, 121,  
 123, 125, 130, 135, 214, 294, 367.  
 Burdwan-31, 153, 158, 183, 190, 192,  
 200, 201, 203, 289, 326.  
 Burdwan Municipality-199.  
 Burmah-340.

## C

Calcutta-18, 293, 327, 330, 345, 351,  
 352, 355, 356, 357.  
 Callisthenes ( Pseudo )-333.  
 Cambay-5, 6.  
 Canarese, the-340.  
 Caspian Sea-16.  
 Cawnpore-19.  
 Central Asia-144.  
 Central India-339.  
 Central Provinces-336.  
 Chaitan Maithun Mela-347.  
*Chaitanya Bhāgavat*-272, 281.  
*Chaitanya Chāritāmṛita*-270, 272, 281.  
*Chaitanya Deva* ( 1484-1533 A. D. )  
 25, 156, 268—272, 277, 279—286,  
 298, 299, 321.  
*Chaitra*-217, 254, 345, 347.  
 Chakariya-236, 256.  
 Chambo-336.  
 Chandals-279.  
 Chāṇḍgon-258.  
*Chandi Kāvya*-150, 189, 190.  
 Chand *Khali*-258.  
*Chāṇḍpūr*-258,  
*Chāṇḍpūr* in Sitakunda-258.  
*Chāṇḍpūr* in Chittagang-258.  
*Chandrabhaga*-330.  
 Chaṭṭala Centre-158, 235.  
 Chaṭṭeswari-248.  
 Chishtis, the-8.

Chisti Order-24, 41, 45, 103, 107, 148.  
 Chitore-50.  
 Chittagang-158, 202, 235, 236, 237,  
 238, 239, 247, 249, 258, 343, 352,  
 365, 376.  
 Chota Nagpur-340.  
 Coimbatore-4.  
 Coromandal Coast-335.

## D

Dacca-144, 158, 204, 205, 210, 226,  
 233, 330, 332, 337, 339, 343.  
 Dādu-25, 156.  
 Dakṣiṇa Rāy-340.  
 Daldighi-180, 181.  
 Damascus-206.  
 Danujmardana-173, 214, 215.  
 Dārā Shikuh ( d. 1659 A. D. )-17, 26,  
 27, 34, 156.  
 Darbeshar Hāt-255.  
 Dargahpara-226, 229.  
 Darvesh (Sect)-282, 300.  
 Darveshi-414.  
 Dasgupta, S. N -129.  
 Dataganj Baksh Lahori ( d. 1072  
 A. D. )-5, 9, 14, 41, 100.  
 Deccan, the-4, 11, 12, 24, 336.  
 Delhi-9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 159, 163  
 258,  
 Deotala-166.  
 Deva-246.  
 Dewgiri-12.  
 Dhanapati Sadagar-189.  
 Dhām-236, 257.  
*Dhyanamālā*-376.  
 Dinajpur-158, 159, 179, 289, 293, 345,  
 362.  
 Dinesh Chandra Sen-280, 322.  
 Draupadi-329.  
 Dudekulas-11.  
 Dudhu Miyan-299, 321.  
 Durga-189.

## E

Ekdala-157, 177.  
 Elijah-333.  
 Eṭawa-12.

## F

Fakhru-'d-Dīn Mubarak Shāh (1336-1352 A. D.)-237, 250.  
 Faqirpur-201.  
 Faridpur-158, 204, 243, 299, 300, 345, 350.  
 Farquhar, J. N.-23.  
 Farrukh Shāh-203.  
*Fatwā-i-Alamgīrī*-33.  
 Faydī-26, 199.  
 Fayḍullāh-288, 291.  
 Fazarī-123.  
 Fīrtūz Shāh-Tughlaq-(1351-88 A. D.)-19, 177, 195, 196.  
 Fīrūzpur-173, 179.  
 Furfura-202.

## G

Gabriel-117.  
 Gaibandha-347.  
 Gait, E. A.-250.  
 Gangārampur-180.  
 Gangā Sagar-327, 335.  
 Ganges-196, 206, 336.  
 Gaur-20, 148, 159, 168, 169, 178, 179, 180, 181, 196, 198, 199, 219, 220, 223, 224.  
 Gaurvadī-282, 283.  
 Gaya-270.  
 Gedā-321.  
 Ghateśvara-346.  
 Ghātorīa-Deo-336.  
 Ghayathu-'d-Dīn Balban-264.  
 Ghāzi-Miyan or Zindah Ghāzī-337, 340.  
 Ghazna-14, 161.  
 Ghor-264.

Ghoraghat-182.  
 Ghorā Shahid-186, 187.  
 Ghulām Akbar-231.  
 Gobra-298.  
 Gonds, the-339.  
 Gopal Bhaṭṭa-214.  
 Gopal Shaiikh-322.  
 Gora-321.  
 Greece-37.  
 Greeks, the-21, 22, 23, 409.  
 Gujrat-5, 6, 7, 19, 159, 191.  
 Guruvada-157.  
 Gwalior-16.

## H

Haḍrat 'Alī-38, 39, 230, 347, 413.  
 Haḍrat Muḥammad (Prophet)-38, 39, 95, 102, 117, 340, 344, 347, 378, 382, 383, 386, 393, 406, 408—414.  
 Haḍrat Mawlaṅg Shāh Dawlah (alive in 1519 A. D.)-233.  
 Haḍrat Shāh Anwar Qulī Ḥalabī-(d. before 1375 A. D.)-202, 203.  
 Haḍrat Shāh Mūsā Saḍg Sohag (d. 1449 A. D.)-49, 50.  
 Haḍrat Shāh Qamis-(d. 1514 A. D.)-51, 153.  
 Ḥafiz (1300-1388 A. D.)-281.  
 Ḥājī Bahram Saqqā (d. 1562 A. D.)-199—201.  
 Ḥājī Khalīl-248.  
 Ḥājī Muḥammad Qadīrī Binnaw Shāh Ganj Bakhsh (d. 1691 A. D.)-51.  
 Ḥājī Shari'atullah-299.  
 Halayūdhā Mīśra-165.  
 Haribhakti Vilāsa-281.  
 Haridas-270.  
 Hariguru-298.  
 Harirampur-206, 207.  
 Hartūn (in Nishapur)-8.

Harūn, the Orthodox (786-809 A.D.)  
-122.

Ḥasan (Imām)-39.

Ḥaṣṭ Gaṃhāriyān-223.

Ḥaṣila pīr-217.

Ḥaṭ-hazarī-249.

Hazrat-298.

Hematgād-180.

Hi -178.

Hidu-321.

Himalaya-336.

Hiuen Tsang-209.

Homer-123.

Howrah-289, 293, 326, 353.

Hughli-183, 190, 194, 197, 202, 346.

Hughly-149, 158.

Humayūn, Emperor (1530-1556 A.D.)  
16, 20, 178, 231, 232.

Huns, the-21.

Ḥusāmīyah order-177.

Ḥusāmū-'d-Dīn 'Iwwād ( 1211-1226  
A. D. )-263.

Ḥusayn Shāh (1493-1519 A. D.)-178,  
180, 181, 222, 264, 268, 283.

# I

Ibn Baṭūṭah-148, 221—224, 250.

Ibrāhīm ibn Adham (d. 777 A. D. )-  
36, 37, 152.

Idris-321.

Imām Abū Ḥanīfah (699-767 A.D.)-  
31, 32.

Imām Ḥusayn-263, 340, 341.

'Inayit-321.

Indian Nation-26.

*Insānu-'l-Kamil*-16.

Iqbāl, Dr.-138.

Irān-366, 367.

Irāq-9, 12.

Iravātī-330.

Isma'īlī faith-5.

Isma'īlī Sect-6.

55—

Israelites-18.

Israfil-380, 385, 389, 393, 403.

# J

Ja'far Khān Ghāzī-194, 197.

Jagabandū-338.

Jahāngir (Emperor-1605-1627 A. D. )  
30, 192, 256.

Jahāniyān Mosque-171.

Jāhīz (d. 866 A. D. )-120.

Jalālū-'d-Dīn Fathī Shāh (1482-1487  
A. D.)-211.

Jalālū-'d-Dīn Khiljī-(1290-1295 A.D.)  
-190, 196, 197.

Jalālū-'d-Dīn Tabrizī ( Makhdum  
Shaykh d. 1225 A. D. )-41, 145, 146,  
160—163, 167, 169, 188.

Jamālpur-236.

Jamī ( 1414-1493 A. D. )-281.

Jaspur-339.

Jaunpur-19, 171, 173, 299.

Jāvā-317, 349.

Jayānanda-271.

Jaypāl-199, 200.

Jāznagar-223.

Jessore-293, 361.

Jibrāil ( Gabriel )-382, 386, 389, 393,  
403.

*Jnān Chautisā*-373.

*Jnān Pradīpa*-369, 373, 375, 376, 377,  
418, 421.

*Jnān Sāgar*-372, 373, 375, 376, 377.

Jodhpur-172.

Jogendra Nath Gupta-214.

Jumma or Jurma Pīr-327.

Junayd Baghdādī ( d. 910 A. D. )-14,  
38.

Junaydis, the-14.

# K

Ka'bah-191.

Kabīr-23-25, 156.

Kabīrpanthis-25 ( also note 1 ).



- Kabul-20.  
 Kabuli Shah-257.  
 Kacharidanga-184.  
 Kadal Khan Ghazi-247, 248, 249, 250.  
 Kadalpur-249.  
 Kafur-161, 211.  
 Kail'as, the-184, 186, 348.  
 Kakhys, the-340.  
 Kalī-194, 206, 207, 338.  
 Kalilah wa Dimnah-122.  
 Kalilag wa Dimnag-122.  
 Kalimāya-338.  
 Kalnā-202.  
 Kalpi-19.  
 Kalisundi-224, 225.  
 Kalisundir Melā-225.  
 Kalu Ghazi-337-339.  
 Kalu Ray-340.  
 Kamakhya ( goddess )-351.  
 Kāmta-223.  
 Kameśvara-181.  
 Kameśvarī-338.  
 Kamrū-223.  
 Kamrūpa-181, 182, 221, 338, 351.  
 Kanchan malā-322.  
 Kanishka ( 78 A. D. ) 121.  
 Kanka-289.  
 Kanu ( a name of Kṛṣṇa ) 321.  
 Kanu Faqir-375.  
 Kantaduār-181.  
 Kantūr-19.  
 Kanuj-19.  
 Kanur-185, 186.  
 Kapila-123.  
 Karataka and Damanaka-122.  
 Karatoya-208.  
 Karbalā-39, 341.  
 Karāmat 'Alī ( d. 1873 A. D. )-294.  
 Karimiyah-43.  
 Karnā-189.  
 Karnāl-195.  
 Kartabhaja-156, 282, 284, 285, 286.  
 Kārtic-350.  
 Kashfu'l Maḥfūb-5, 100.  
 Kashmir-20.  
 Kāsi-313.  
 Katal'fish-253.  
 Katalganj-236, 252.  
 Katalpir-236, 252, 253.  
 Katibin-393.  
 Katodis, the-340.  
 Kaubis, the-6.  
 Kauśalya-329.  
 Keśab Ray-369.  
 Keśava-214.  
Khalid bin Walid-169.  
Khalifahs-3, 11.  
Khalīf Khan-223.  
Kharwas, the-6.  
Khattu-15.  
Khojas, the-6.  
 Khonds, the-339.  
Khurram-31.  
Khurshid-i-Jahān Numā-166, 167, 179.  
Khushī Biswas-298.  
Khustigiri-197, 198.  
Khutwal-11.  
Khwajah 'Abdu'l Baqi-30.  
Khwajah Anwar-216.  
Khwajah Anwar Shah ( d. 1715 A.D. )-203.  
Khwajah Bāqī Billah ( d.-1603 A.D. )-20, 41.  
Khwajah-i-Din-Chishti-186.  
Khwajah Fuḍayl bin Ayyaḍ ( d. 803 A. D. )-37.  
Khwajah Ḥabib 'Ajmi ( d. 728 A. D. ) 37, 39.  
Khwajah Ḥasan of Basra ( d. 728 A.D. )-39.  
Khwajah Hubayratu'l Basrī ( d. 900 A. D. )-37.  
Khwajah Kamil bin Ziyād-39.  
Khwajah Kalān Danīshmand-216.  
Khwajah Khidr-152, 153, 250\*330-336.

Khwājah Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī-

( 1142-1236 A.D. )-8, 9 (note 1) 10,  
11, 19, 20, 30, 40, 43, 44, 145, 148,  
154, 164, 197.

Khwājah Nūr-216.Khwājah Qutbu'd-Dīn Bahhtiyār kāki

( 1142-1236 A.D. ) 9, 11, 59, 80,  
154, 163, 164, 167, 241, 242.

Khwājah 'Uthmān Chishtī-8

Khwarījam-163.

Kidderpore-330, 351, 352.

King Bind-351.

Kirāman-393

Kirmān-198.

Kirmāniyah-43.

Kisāns, the-339.

Koch King-5.

Koris, the-6.

Krishna-273-277, 279, 280, 282-284,  
286, 306, 321, 344, 375.

Krishṇadas Kabirāj-2 69, 270, 271, 285.

Kulagurus-156.

Kumira-235.

Kunderhāt-236.

Kunti-329.

Kushan Empire-121.

Kushi-17.

Kushtia-316.

## L

Lahore-4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 50.

Lakhoauti-168.

Lakṣmī-348, 349, 350.

Lakṣmikaṇṭa-285.

Lālan ( Shāh )-298, 316.

Lāl Mohan Shāikh-322.

Lāl Shāhbāz ( d. 1323 A.D. ) (Sayyad  
'Uthmān Shāh )-48.

Laṭā'if-i-Ashrafī-18

Lhota Nagas-335.

Lucknow-19, 159.

## M

Madan-314.

Madanpur-5, 209, 210.

Madarbarī-151.

Madarīpur-151.

Madaris. the-18, 151.

Madarsha-151.

Madhumālā-322.

Madhu Sena-214, 215.

Madhva-214, 215, 269.

Madras Presidency-4.

Madura-4.

Maghs-246, 252.

Maghrib-317.

Mahābhārata-189, 329.

Mahādeva-285, 338.

Mahānād-346.

Mahasthāna-205, 207, 209, 238.

Mahasthāna Gāḍ-209.

Mahendradeva-214, 215.

Mahaoath-194.

Mahayana Buddhists-401.

Maheś Raja-180.

Mahiganj-228.

Majm'au'-l-Bahrayn-27.

Makanpur-19.

Makhdūmnagar-198.

Makhdūm Jahāniyāh Jahān Gasht  
Bukhārī ( 1307-1374 A. D. )-48,  
147, 170, 171, 228.

Makhdūm Sayyad 'Alī 'Uluwwī al-  
Hujwiri-5, 14.

Makhdūm Shāh Dawlah Shāhid-215,  
216, 217, 218.

Makhdūm Shāh Mahmūd Ghaznawī  
alias Rahipīr-183, 184, 186, 187.

Makhdūm Shāh 'Abdullah Gujrātī  
( d. before 1500 A. D. )-191.

Makhdūm Shāh Zahiru'd-Dīn-198,  
199.

Makkeśvara Śiva-347, 348.

Malabar 119.

- Malanchamala-322.  
 Malaya-317.  
 Maldah-13, 20, 158, 159, 160, 178, 289, 326.  
 Malwa-15.  
 Mama Salma-334.  
 Mamūn ( 813-833 A. D. )-123.  
 Manasa-338, 350, 351, 364.  
 Mandodari-329.  
 Mangla-189.  
 Mangalkot-31, 183, 186, 187, 188, 190—192, 194, 195.  
 Manikpur ( Kara )-44, 171, 176, 177.  
 Maniktalā-293.  
 Mansur (Caliph) (754-775 A. D. )-122, 123.  
 Manşuru-'l-Hallaj-89, 91, 92, 118, (note 1).  
 Mansatalā-351.  
 Margoloth-35, 36.  
 Ma'ruf Karakhi ( d. 815 A. D. )-37.  
 Marwand-48.  
 Masjid of Adam Shahid-211.  
 Maghad-8.  
 Maghriq-317.  
 Mawlaṅg 'Abdu-'l-Ḥaq Muḥaddith- ( 1551-1641 A. D. ) 42.  
 Mawlaṅg Fakhr-'d-Dīn Zarrādi-(d. 1327 A. D. )-168.  
 Mawlaṅg Haqrat Shah 'Abdul Wahhab (nlive 1615 A. D. ) 233.  
 Mawlaṅg Jalalu-'d-Dīn Rūmī-( 1207, 1273 A. D. )-46, 218, 271, 281.  
 Mawlaṅg Karamat 'Ali ( d. 1873 A. D. )-299.  
 Mawlaṅg Shaykh Hamid Danishmand Bangali ( d. 1653 A. D. )-31, 192-193.  
 Mawlawi 'Abdu-'s-Salām-168.  
 Mawlawi Mufaddalu-'r-Raḥmān Anşari-192.  
 Mecca-9, 1, 936, 163, 199, 313, 347, 348, 406, 407.  
 Medina-9, 163, 191.  
 Meerut-16, 255.  
 Mesopotamia-120, 121, 125.  
 Midnapur-158, 289, 326, 352.  
 Mikail-381, 386, 389, 393, 403.  
 Mir. (Sayyad) Ashraf Jahangir Simnani (d. 1405 A. D. )-18, 19, 171.  
 Mir Hasan 'Alayi of Sanjir ( d. 1335 A. D. )-12.  
 Mir Sayyad 'Ali Qawwam ( d. 1499 A. D. )-16.  
 Miran Muḥammad Shah ( Mawj-i-Darya ) (1531-1604 A. D. )-50.  
 Mirat-i-Madāri-18.  
 Mirpur-233.  
 Mir Sarai-257.  
 Moondahs, the-340.  
 Moslem Pañcha Sari-330.  
 Mu'az-ibn-Jabl-216.  
 Mua'zzamabād-223.  
 Mua'zzampur-234.  
 Mughal-27.  
 Mughithu-'d-Dīn Tughral ( 1278—1282 A. D. )-215, 264.  
 Muḥammad ( of Yaman )-218, 223.  
 Muḥammad 'Ali-6.  
 Muḥammad Ghawth (d. 1562, A. D. )-16.  
 Muḥammad Kabir-202.  
 Muḥammad Musa al-Kharizmī-123.  
 Muḥammad Shah ( 1719-1748 A. D. )-256.  
 Muḥammad Yūsuf-255.  
 Muḥsin 'Ali-368.  
 Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-Thani ( 1563-1624 A. D. )-51, 153, 192, 193.  
 Mukarram Khan (1626-27 A. D. )-332.  
 Mukunda Rama Kavi Kankan-159, 189.  
 Mullā 'Atgu-'d-Dīn-179, 181.  
 Mullā Shah Takiyah-257.  
 Mullā Simla-202.  
 Multan-11, 163, 164.

Munshi Wajed 'Ali-290.  
 Murshidabad-51, 330, 333, 374.  
 Murshid Quli Khan ( 1704-1727 A.D.)  
 -332.  
 Mutawalli-5.  
 Mymensing-5, 144, 158, 204, 209,  
 330, 337, 339, 350, 377.

## N

Nabi Bansa ( 1587 A. D. )-376.  
 Nabi Kahini-376.  
 Nadiya-214, 263, 267, 268, 285, 298,  
 330, 337, 361.  
 Nagur-13, 172.  
 Naiyayikas-130.  
 Najd-199.  
 Nanak ( 1469-1539 )-25, 156.  
 Nanja-214, 215.  
 Naqshbandi-20, 30, 39, 40, 41, 51,  
 100, 103, 138, 153.  
 Narada-152, 189.  
 Narabada-335.  
 Narayan-289, 291, 292.  
 Nasirabad-236, 238, 239, 246.  
 Nasiru-'d-Din-220.  
 Nasrullah-51.  
 Natha-265.  
 Navadvipa-268.  
 Nawadiru-'l-Ayniyyah-16.  
 Nayan Chand Faqir-373.  
 Neqas-282, 238, 300,  
 Neoplatonists-118.  
 Netrokopa-209.  
 Nilgiris-4.  
 Nimai-321.  
 Nimbarka-269.  
 Nishapur-8.  
 Nityananda-269, 282, 283.  
 Nizamu-'d-Din Awliya ( 1236-1325  
 A. D. )-12, 44, 149, 154, 168, 169,  
 219, 221, 241, 242.  
 Noah-101.

Noakhali-158, 235, 256, 352.  
 North Arcot-4.  
 Nur, theory of-56.  
 Nurjahan Empress-16, 30, 256.  
 Nuru-'d-Din ( Nur Satagar )-6.  
 Nuru-'d-Din Qutb-i-'Alam ( d. 1416 )  
 44, 147, 171-176.  
 Nurunnehar-o-Kabarer Katha-239, 242.  
 Nuşrat Shah- ( 1519-1532 A.D. ) 264.

## O

Olā Bibi-352-353,  
 Olāi Chandi-353.  
 Oraons, the-340.  
 Orissa-340.  
 Oskhain-376.  
 Oudh-192.

## P

Pabna - 158, 204, 215, 330, 342, 344,  
 345, 347, 361.  
 Pada Kalpataru-374, 375.  
 Padma-228.  
 Padma purān-364.  
 Pagal Nath-298.  
 Pakpattan-11, 242.  
 Palamaw-339.  
 Panch Kaḍi-330.  
 Panchavaṭi-330.  
 Panchatantra-122.  
 Pandavas-329.  
 Panchu Muchi-285.  
 Pandua - 13, 146, 149, 150, 160, 169,  
 170, 171, 172, 178, 196, 228.  
 Pandua ( in Hughli )-149, 190, 194,  
 195, 197.  
 Panipath-45, 59, 61, 194, 195.  
 Paragalpur-376.  
 Patanjali-123, 136.  
 Pathan-124, 358.  
 Patia-236, 258, 259.

Patiala-50.  
 Patna-198.  
 Paundravardhana-209.  
 Paus-224, 366.  
 Pauṣh Nārayanīyoga-208.  
 Paus Sankrānti-366.  
 Persia-3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 37, 56, 70, 115,  
 117, 121, 123, 125, 130, 135, 143,  
 198, 204, 294, 313, 316, 317, 324,  
 334, 366.  
 Persians, the-21, 22, 23.  
 Persian Gulf-334.  
 Phālgun-254.  
 Pīr Badr ( d. 1440 A. D. )-201, 202,  
 235, 244, 245, 249, 251, 252, 253, 235.  
 Pīr Badkhu-'d-Dīn-179, 180, 181.  
 Pīr Bakhṣh-321.  
 Pirganj-181.  
 Pīr Ghora Shabīd-186.  
 Pīr Karīm Siltūnī-43.  
 Pīr Māchānqālī Saif-335.  
 Pīr Majlis-201, 202.  
 Pīr Panjtan-186.  
 Pīr Sadu-327.  
 Pīr Sohagālā-327.  
 Plato-123.  
 Pramatha Choudhury-272.  
 Ptolemy's Almagest-123.  
 Punjab-11, 20, 50, 242, 330, 331, 356.  
 Purāṇas-189.  
 Purba Pakistaner Ṣūfī Sādhak-227.  
 Puri-270.  
 Purnā-158, 159.  
 Puṭī-321.  
 Puṭu-321.  
 Pygmalion-409.

## Q

Qadam Mubarak Mosque-243.  
 Qādī Ḥamīdu-'d-Dīn of Nāgūr  
 (d. 1266 A. D. )-13, 41.  
 Qādī Muwakkil-259.

Qādir Walī Ṣāhib-335.  
 Qādiris, the-16, 41.  
 Qadiriya Order-16, 41, 50, 92, 102,  
 107, 153, 154.  
 Qalandar Sharfu-'d-Dīn Bā 'Alī Shāh-  
 44, 47, 59, 61, 149, 154, 194, 195-197,  
 241, 242.  
 Qalandar Yūsuf al-Andalusī-38, 46.  
 Qasba-327.  
 Qattāl Pīr-252.  
 Qāzi Pārā-343.  
 Quṭb-45.  
 Quṭbu-'d-Dīn Aybak-46.  
 Quṭbu-'l Madār-18.  
 Quwwatu-'l Islām ( Mosque )-46

## R

Rabindranath Tagore-316.  
 Rādhā-276, 277, 280, 283, 284, 375.  
 Rādhā-43.  
 Rādhā Centre-158, 183.  
 Rafiqul-'Ārefīn-44, 173, 176.  
 Raghunandan-268.  
 Rahmatganj-243.  
 Rājā Ballāl Sena-144, 211—215.  
 Rājā Ballāl Sena II-214, 215.  
 Rājā Ganeś ( 1409-1414 A. D. )-156,  
 173, 174, 215.  
 Rājā Gaur Govinda-148, 220, 221,  
 223.  
 Rājā Lakṣmaṇa Sena-12, 165, 214  
 215.  
 Rājā Kriṣṇa Chandra-291.  
 Rājā Parśurām-207, 208.  
 Rājā Prithvirāj-9 (note 1), -10.  
 Rājī Ḥamid Shāh-177.  
 Rajputs, the-358.  
 Rājshāhi-152, 158, 204, 226, 227, 228,  
 229, 231, 232, 233, 345, 361, 362,  
 363, 364.  
 Rāma-189.  
 Rāmananda-24, 25.

Ramdhani Mitter Lane-356.  
 Rām Ghazī-339.  
 Rāmpūr-228.  
 Rāmpūr Boaliyā-227-229, 232.  
 Rām Śaran-285.  
 Rangpūr-158, 159, 171,  
 181, 228, 289, 293, 347, 353, 361,  
 365, 366.  
 Rāozān-249.  
 Ras Mosandim-334.  
 Rasulābād-14.  
 Ratnadvipa-162.  
 Ratnamañi-207, 208.  
 Ratna Sekhara-162.  
 Riyāḍus-salāṭīn-160, 168.  
 Rukn-'d-Dīn Barbak Shāh, (1459-1478  
 A. D.)-264.  
 Rukn-'d-Dīn Firūz Shāh (1235-1236  
 A. D.)-196.  
 Ruknu-'d-Dīn Kay Kayus Shāh (1291-  
 1302 A. D.) 196.  
 Rukn Khān-223.  
 Rūm-46.  
 Rurki-12.  
 Rūpa-269.  
 Rūpganj-234.

## S

Sadgsohag (sect.) 284,  
 Sādhvinī-282, 284.  
 Sahajiya-265, 282.  
 Śaheb Dhani-298.  
 Śakas, the-21.  
 Sakhi bhavak-282, 284.  
 Salār or Salūrah-51, 153.  
 Samargand-3, 12, 20, 115, 117, 119,  
 121, 123, 125, 130, 135, 294, 367.  
 Samatāṭa-190.  
 Samkhya Sutras-123.  
 Sangtana-269, 283.  
 Sangullāh Khān-256.

Sandvipa-206, 239.  
 Sāñi-282, 300.  
 Sankarachārya-114, 130.  
 Sankha-(river) 254, 258.  
 Santals, the-339.  
 Santal Parganah-339.  
 Saptagrama-196, 197, 377.  
 Sapta Jñāna Pradīpa-373.  
 Sarasvatī-196.  
 Sarkhech-15.  
 Sarmad-34, 67, 95.  
 Śaṣṭhi-353, 354.  
 Satadru-330.  
 Sātkañia-236, 255, 256.  
 Satya Nārayaṇa-290, 291, 292.  
 Sayyad 'Abdu-'r-Razzaq-154.  
 Sayyad Jalāl bin Ahmad Kabir known  
 as Makhdūm Jahāniyān (1307-1383  
 A. D.) 13, 14.  
 Sayyad Jalāl-'d-Dīn Surkh push of  
 Bukhārā (1191-1291 A. D.)-13  
 Sayyad Muḥammad Shāh 'Alam (d.  
 1474-A. D.) 14.  
 Sayyad Muḥammad Ghawth of Jilān  
 (d.1715 A. D.)-17, 41.  
 Sayyad Nathar Shāh-4.  
 Sayyad Shāh Ni'amatullāh (d. 1664  
 A. D.)-179.  
 Sayyad Shāh Surkh Khul Antiah-5, 10,  
 Sayyad Shāh Tajū-'d-Dīn-186.  
 Sayyid-'l-'Ārefīn-224, 225.  
 Sayyid Ahmad Kabir Suhrawardī-218,  
 221.  
 Sayyid Martūza-369, 372-375, 396.  
 Sayyid Sulṭān (d. 1587 A. D.) 369  
 373, 375, 376,  
 Seka Subhodayā-146, 160, 161, 163, 164,  
 165, 167, 188, 190.  
 Semites' the-22, 23.  
 Seru-321.  
 Seva Kamalini-298.  
 Shādulla Faqir Pustak-373.

- Shāh 'Abbas Safawī ( 1587-1629 )  
 230.  
Shāh 'Abdullah Kirmānī  
 ( alive in 1236 A. D. ),-11,  
 197, 198.  
Shāh Aḥmad-217.  
Shāh Ajmal-217.  
Shāh 'Alī Baghdādī-( death before  
 1480 A. D. )-233.  
Shāh Allāh-20, 151.  
Shāh Arjanī-198.  
Shāh Aṣḥraf-257.  
Shāh Badī-236, 257.  
Shāh Badru-'d-Dīn 'Allamah,  
 ( alive in 1340 A. D. )-243.  
Shāh Bodlā-217.  
Shāh Chānd Awliya-236, 258, 259.  
Shāh Darwish-230, 231.  
Shāh Firūz-186.  
Shāh Gadā ( d. before 1455 A. D. )-  
 178.  
Shāh Hājī 'Alī-186.  
Shāh Ismā'il Ghazī  
 ( beheaded in 1474 A. D. )-181,  
 182.  
Shāh Jalāl Bukhārī of  
 Māhiganj-171 ( note 1 ).  
Shāh Jalāl Mujarrad-i-  
Yamanī ( d. 1346 A. D. )-147, 171  
 ( note 1 ), 218, 220-224,  
 228.  
Shāh Jalāl-'d-Dīn Bukhārī  
 (1196-1291 A. D. )-216-219, 221.  
Shāh Jalāl-'d-Dīn Gujrātī-176,  
Shāh-i-Jahān-152,  
 153, 192, 193, 198.  
Shāh Kālū-176.  
Shāh. Khingar-217.  
Shāh-i-Madār-18, 20, 151.  
Shāh. Maḥmūd-217.  
Shāh Maḥdūm-226,  
 227, 229, 231, 232.  
Shāh Mir Dhākir 'Alī-194.  
Shāh Mubarak 'Alī-257.  
Shāh Muḥsin Awliya-  
 236, 250, 253, 254, 255.  
Shāh Muḥammad Sultān Rūmī  
 ( alive in 1053 A. D. )-209, 210.  
Shāh Mulla Miskīn-257.  
Shāh Mūsā Sada Sohag ( d 1449  
 A. D. )-284.  
Shāh Naṣīru-'d-Dīn Nikmardān  
 179.  
Shāh Nūr-231, 257.  
Shāh Pīr ( d. 1632 A. D. )  
 16, 236, 255, 256.  
Shāh Safīu-'d-Dīn Shāhid  
 of Pandua ( d. between 1290 and  
 1295 A. D. )-149, 194-197.  
Shāh Sayyid Ni'amatullāh ( d. 1430  
 A. D. )-17, 41, 50.  
Shāh Sidū-177.  
Shāh Sikandar of kithāgī-30.  
Shāh Sirāj-'d-Dīn-186.  
Shāh Sultān Anṣārī ( alive in 1540  
 A. D. )-191.  
Shāh Sultān Balkhī-205,-208, 238,  
 239.  
Shāh Sultān Ḥusayn Muriyah  
 Barhlīnah-152.  
Shāh Sultān Rūmī-5, 144.  
Shāh 'Umar-236, 256, 257,  
Shāh Yūsuf-217.  
Shāh Zayd-236, 257, 258  
Shahr-i-Naw-151.  
Shahzād-pūr-215-217.  
Shāikh-Anwar-175.  
Shāikh Madan-322.  
Shāikh Manohar-322.  
Shamsu-d-Dīn Abū said Tabrizī-46,  
 163, 217, 218.  
Shamsu-'d-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh (1431-  
 1442 A. D. )-234.

- Shamsu-'d-Dīn Firūz Shāh (1302-1322 A. D.)-224.
- Shamsu-'d-Dīn Ilyas Shāh (1339-1358 A. D.)-168, 177, 264.
- Shamsu-'l-'Ulama Hidayit Husayn-251.
- Shaṭṭaris, the-15, 41, 256.
- Shaykh 'Abdu-'l Haqq Muḥaddith (d. 1641 A. D.) 31, 32, 34.
- Shaykh Aḥmad of Sirhind- 28, 29-32, 34.
- Shaykh Alāu-'d-Dīn Alāu-'l Haqq (d. 1398 A. D.)-147, 149.
- Shaykh 'Alī Haydarī-335.
- Shaykh A'zam Khān-172, 173.
- Shaykh Bahāu-'d-Dīn Junaydī-( d. 1515 A. D.)-15.
- Shaykh Bakhtiyār-201.
- Shaykh Bahlūl Daryāyī-(d. 1575 A. D.)-50, 92.
- Shaykh Bhikā Ghishtī-24.
- Shaykh Burhān-'d-Dīn of Assam-219, 220.
- Shaykh Burhanu-'d-Dīn Gharib-(d. 1332 A. D.)-12.
- Shaykh Faridu-'d-Dīn Aṭṭār-(d. 1230 A. D.)-237, 242.
- Shaykh Faridu-'d-Dīn Shakarganj (1176-1269 A. D.)-103, 148, 178, 236, 240, 241, 242.
- Shaykh Farider Chashama-240.
- Shaykh Hamidu-'d-Dīn of Nāgūr (1256-1360 A. D.)-172.
- Shaykh Ḥamid Danishmand of Mangalkot-153.
- Shaykh Husumu-'d-Dīn Manikpūrī (d 1477. A. D.)-44, 176, 177.
- Shaykh Husayn of Zanjan-8.
- Shaykh Isma'il-4.
- Shaykh Khali ( alive in 1539 A. D. ) -178.
- Shaykh Mīr Muḥammad (d. 1635 A. D.)-17.
- Shaykh Najmu-'d-Dīn Kubrā Firdausī. ( d. 1221. A. D. )-30, 38.
- Shaykh Najmu-'d-Dīn Sughrā-162.
- Shaykh Naṣīru-'d-Dīn Aḥmad. (birth. 1336 A. D.)-15.
- Shaykh Naṣīru-'d-Dīn of Manikpur. -171.
- Shaykh Raḍā Biyābānī (1353 A. D.) 157, 177, 264.
- Shaykh Sharfu-'d-Dīn Isma'il-ibn-Ibrahim. al-Jabartī (d. 1406-1417 A. D.)-17.
- Shaykh Shamsu-'d-Dīn Ṭahir-(d. 1476 A. D.)-176.
- Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn Suhrawardī-(1147-1234 A. D.)-12, 13, 30, 46, 100, 163, 167.
- Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn Abū Nazib Suhrawardī ( d. 1167 A. D. ) 38.
- Shaykh Taqī Suhrawardī-24.
- Sher Shāh (1539-45 A. D.)-178, 179, 264.
- Shihābu-'d-Dīn Ṭalish-249, 252.
- Shir: z-334.
- Siam-317.
- Siddha Raj-6.
- Siddhānta (of Brahmagupta)-123.
- Sikandar Khān Ghazī-223.
- Sikandar Shāh (1358-1389 A. D.) -156, 170, 220.
- Silādevī-207, 208.
- Silādevīr Ghat-208.
- Sind-48, 49, 124.
- Singbhūm-340.
- Sirāj Kulup-376.
- Siraju-'d-Dawlah (Nawab Nazim of Bengal-1756-57 A. D.)-332-33.
- Sirguja-339.
- Sirhind-15, 28, 29, 31.
- Sistan-8.
- Sita-330.
- Sitala-352.



- Sitbasanta-322,  
 Sitakunda Mountain Range-257.  
 Śiva-189, 346, 347, 348.  
*Siyāru'l Awliyā*-164.  
 Skandha Purāṇa-292.  
 Solak Bahar-236, 239.  
 Sonagachi-327.  
 Sonā Ghāzi-327.  
 Sonāmukhi-327  
 Sonargaon-170, 175, 205, 216, 237,  
 328.  
 Sonatalā-326.  
 Sondar 'Alī-322.  
 Śrīmatī (River)-258.  
 Śrī Utsava Ray Dasasya-369.  
 Ṣūfīmovement-3.  
*Suhal-i-yaman*-218, 223, 224.  
 Suhrawardis, the-12, 14, 24, 41.  
 Suhrawardi order-48, 103, 146, 147,  
 148, 160.  
 Sukdeva-189.  
 Sulṭān Aḥmad (1411-1443) 15.  
 Sulṭān Barbak Shāh-(1459-1474.  
 A. D.)-181, 182.  
 Sulṭān Bayizid Bistāmī (d. 874 A.D.)  
 37, 33, 236-239.  
 Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Dehlavi-223.  
 Sulṭān Ghayāthu-'d-Dīn A'zam shāh  
 (1389-1409 A. D.)-172.  
 Sulṭān Jalāu-'d-Dīn (Jadu 1418-1431  
 A.D.)-156, 174, 175, 215, 264.  
 Sulṭān Ibrahim Shāh Sharqī (1400  
 -1440 A. D.)-19, 173, 174.  
 Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq (1325-51  
 A. D.)-15.  
 Sulṭān Naṣīru-'d-Dunya Wa'd-Dīn  
 Abū'l Muzaffar Maḥmūd Shāh the  
 Sulṭān-178.  
 Sulṭān Shāh Shujā'--(1639-1660 A. D.)  
 152, 179.  
 Sulṭān Shihābu-'d-Dīn Muḥammad  
 Ghūrī (1189-1205 A. D.)-9, 10.  
 Sulṭān Sikandar-220.  
 Sumatra-317.  
 Sundarbans-338, 340.  
 Surat-119, 237.  
 Surkhāb-208.  
 Sylhet-147, 148, 158, 204, 220, 224,  
 228.  
 Syria-3, 18, 120, 121,  
 T  
*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*-143.  
 Tabriz-163.  
*Tadhkirat-i-Auliyā-i-Hind*-29, 45, 164-  
 167, 173.  
 Tālagu-352.  
 Tālaguvasini-352.  
 Tāntrika-265.  
 Tara-329.  
 Tarain-10.  
 Tarakeśvara-346, 347.  
*Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*-143, 160.  
 Tawfiq-206.  
 Taymūr Lang-224, 225.  
 Thaṭṭa-34.  
 Tinnevely-4.  
 Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah-221.  
 Tribeni-196.  
 Trichinopoly-4, 6.  
 Tunu-321.  
 Turan-367.  
 Tur mountain-61.  
 Turks, the-21, 124, 169,  
 287.  
 Turkistan-70, 121, 123, 324.  
 U  
 Uch-11, 13, 14, 17, 147.  
 Ujāni-184, 188, 189.  
 'Ūlāmā-26,  
 Ulugrama-285  
 Ulūgh Maḥlis Khān-203.  
 'Umarābād-256,  
 'Umarshāh of Noakhali-257.  
 United Provinces-12, 256,

Upanishads-118, 127, 129,  
130, 273, 276.  
University of Calcutta-322.  
Urishā-223.  
Uwys Qaranī-18, 38.

## V

Vaiśākḥ-179.  
Vaiṣṇab (sect)-156,  
Vaiṣṇab Dāsa-375.  
Vanga-190.  
Vanga Centre-158.  
Varendra Centre-158.  
Varuṇa-152, 334, 355, 336.  
Vaṭa trees (sacred)-330.  
Vijaya Sen-214, 215.  
Vipasā-330,  
Vīrbhadra-283.  
Viṣṇudās-285.  
Visvarūpa-214.  
Vitaṣṭa-330.

## W

Wahhābī-294  
Wahhābī Movement-243.

Walishān-264.  
Wlāyī-321.  
Wise, Dr.-251.

## Y

Yadavpur-293.  
Yaman-5, 17, 148, 216, 218,  
219.  
Yoga Kalandar-369, 372,  
374, 375.  
Yoga Sutras-123.  
Yudhishthira-189.  
Yūsuf-162.  
Yūsuf Shāh (1478-1482 A. D.)  
233.

## Z

Zabardast Khān-254.  
Zabīdān-17.  
Zahid-175.  
Zindīq-120, 121.  
Zolekhā-162.

# INDEX OF TECHNICAL TERMS

## INDEX OF TECHNICAL TERMS

### A

Abdal-110.  
 Ab-i-hayāt-331.  
 'Ābid-109.  
 Abināṣ-394.  
 Aḥin Pakhi-303, 304.  
 Āḍal-185.  
 Ādamī maghrab-101.  
 Adhamī-36, 37, 39, 152.  
 Adhān-185, 206, 364.  
 Advaita-282.  
 Aguru-290.  
 Aḥad-95.  
 Aḥdiyat-98.  
 Ahl-i-Ḥadīth-294.  
 Aḥmad-95.  
 Ājñāchakra-381.  
 Ākhdas-299, 301.  
 Akhfā-101, 102.  
 Akhyār-109.  
 Ākula-297.  
 'Ālam-i-arwāḥ-98.  
 'Ālam-i-Khalq-98.  
 Alekhā-394.  
 Āleksānī-304.  
 Al-Ḥaqq-53, 64, 93, 127, 128, 130.  
 Ālkheila-228, 285, 301.  
 'Allamah-248.  
 Amg̃basya-367.  
 Amritakunda-381.  
 Āndarkilla-252.  
 Anahata-379.  
 Anahata Chakra-382.  
 Ana-l-ḥaqq-90, 271, 315.  
 Anṣār-191.  
 Antarayamin-131.  
 'Aqīqah-364.  
 'Aql-403.  
 Arb'a Ungsir-101.  
 Arhat-137.  
 Arabian Islām-37.  
 'Arif-110, 137.

'Arsh-101.  
 Artha-292.  
 Āsanās-140, 389.  
 Āsan Kara-354.  
 'Aṣar-185.  
 'Ashiq-404.  
 Ashraf-358, 360.  
 Astanah-244, 252, 288, 290, 342.  
 Astagiri-384.  
 Āsutoṣ-347, 348.  
 Athar-357.  
 Ātma-379-383, 391, 393, 396.  
 Ātman-128, 132.  
 Avatar-90, 274, 286, 411.  
 Aynah-i-Hindustān-169.  
 Ayyādi-37, 39.  
 Azān-147.

### B

Bādah-56, 277, 306.  
 Badrpatī-244.  
 Bahlūl Shāhī-50.  
 Baqā-53, 84, 93, 116, 132, 133.  
 Baqābillah-55, 81, 129.  
 Barātī-286.  
 Baratakiā-257.  
 Basanta-379, 390.  
 Bāstu Devata-339.  
 Bātāṣ-289.  
 Bāul gān-302.  
 Baytullāh-407.  
 Bera Bhasān-153, 331, 332, 333, 335, 336.  
 Be-sharā'-314.  
 Bhat-ṭat-297.  
 Bhasān yātrā-350.  
 Bhedābheda-269.  
 Bheḡ-331.  
 Bhikkhus-126.  
 Bhūt-355, 357, 365, 366.

Bhūt-prete-Biswas-354, 355.  
 Bid'at-294, 317, 318.  
 Bihigh-tis-341.  
 Binawa-51.  
 Bindu-411, 415.  
 Birānī-290.  
 Bismillāh-210, 225.  
 Brahman-358.  
 Brahma Daitya Faqir-354.  
 Brahmatattva-414, 415.  
 Bud-121  
 Buddhism-117,  
 Budī Thakurādī-338.  
 But-121.

## C

Cathedral Mosque  
 in Delhi-34.  
 Chandan-290.  
 Chaitanya-403.  
 Chaitya puja-324, 325.  
 Chakras-139.  
 Challisa-366.  
 Champā-321.  
 Chāpā-321.  
 Chārdinā-366.  
 Chāṭī-243, 244, 245.  
 Chauki-290.  
 Chela-376.  
 Chihlum-366.  
 Chikan Qadī-259.  
 Chillā Khanah-166 (also note 2)  
 Chini-321.  
 Chiraghī-217, 325  
 Chit-402.  
 Chitā-212, 213.  
 Christianity-117.  
 Chūa-290.  
 Chowdah Khwanwadah-39.  
 Chowry-346.  
 Citta-136.

## D

Dafalī Faqir-328.  
 Danda-396.

Daradī Sāfi-304.  
 Darb-105.  
 Darveshī-414, 415.  
 Daṣā-270.  
 Daṣadvāra-307, 384.  
 Dehatattva-307.  
 Dehatattva gān-302, 303.  
 Deo-355.  
 Devara-362.  
 Dhakir-100, 103-106.  
 Dharma-292.  
 Dharaṇā-140.  
 Dhat-53, 54, 55, 58, 62, 63, 70, 71,  
 73, 74, 76.  
 Dhāt-i-Khuda-65.  
 Dhikr-90, 98, 100, 101, 103-107,  
 138, 140, 156, 270, 280, 385, 386,  
 390, 393, 415.  
 Dhikr-i-Rbāitah-105, 140.  
 Dhimar-336.  
 Dhūnā-324, 325.  
 Dhūpā-324, 325.  
 Dhyāna-140.  
 Dil-415.  
 Dil 'Ambarī-103, 389.  
 Dil Mudawwari-102, 389.  
 Dil Nilūfari-102, 389.  
 Dil Sanawwari-102 389.  
 Dīn daradī-383.  
 Dirham-359.  
 Diwalī-343.  
 Dotara-301.  
 Dūrvā-361.  
 Dvaita-269.  
 Dvija-358.  
 Durgapuja-343.  
 E  
 Ektara-301.  
 Eyotis-361.

## F

Faṣā-53, 81, 83, 116, 132, 133.  
 Faṣafillah-106, 129, 270.

Fangfir Rasūl-95.  
 Fanafish-Shaykh-105, 106, 140, 308, 309.  
 Fānī-55, 93, 130.  
 Faqīr-156, 264, 285, 290, 291, 292, 295, 298, 299, 300, 338, 354, 401.  
 Faqiri-376.  
 Faraiqī-294, 299.  
 Fard-157.  
 Farman-233.  
 Fātiḥa-290.  
 Fātiḥa-i-duzdahum-340, 344.  
 Fatwa-300.  
 Fikr-403.  
 Firdawsī-38, 39.

## G

Gācha Basgn-354.  
 Gahwarahs-341, ( also note 1 ), 342.  
 Gajaris-238.  
 Ganj-i-Nabgt-169, 170.  
 Ganjraj-368.  
 Ganj-i-Shakr-170.  
 Garbhāsana-390.  
 Gatra Haridrā-361.  
 Gauḍian Vaiṣṇabism-267, 272.  
 Gaurāṅga-283.  
 Gharamī-254.  
 Ghaṭṭ-336.  
 Ghaṭṭāvara-346.  
 Ghawth-i-A'zam-42.  
 Ghazal-313, 345.  
 Ghazir Gāyin-337, 339.  
 Ghaznavi-161.  
 Ghorā Pir-326, 327.  
 Ghorā Shahīd-186, 187.  
 Gobrai-295, 300.  
 Golab-290.  
 Gosāñi-285, 398.  
 Grama-devatā-326.  
 Grihi-300, 301.  
 Griṣma-379.

Gulab-324, 325.  
 Gūr-purast-325  
 Guru-308, 309, 411, 412.  
 Guruvāda-323.

## H

Ḥabībī-37, 39.  
 Ḥabs-i-dam-104, 140.  
 Ḥadiṭh-54, 80, 86, 113.  
 Ḥajj-387.  
 Ḥāl-270.  
 Ḥalāl-387.  
 Ḥalāt-i-Jadhbah-61.  
 Ḥalqah-279, 280.  
 Ḥalūā-290.  
 Halud Kuṭan-360, 361.  
 Hamah ūst-53, 54, 67, 131.  
 Hamah az ūst-53, 54, 131.  
 Ḥaḥiqat-99, 137, 386.  
 Ḥaḥiqat Manzil-386, 388.  
 Ḥaram-387.  
 Hari-286.  
 Ḥasanāt-116.  
 Hasi-321.  
 Haṭha Yoga-369.  
 Ḥazratī-295, 300.  
 Hemagiri-384.  
 Hemanta-380.  
 Himmat-403.  
 Hubayrī-37, 39.  
 Hujrah-106, 110.  
 Hūlūl-53, 90, 116, 118. ( note 1 ), 315.  
 —theōry of-89.  
 Ḥusāmīyah ( order )-44.  
 Ḥusn-55, 58, 59, 60.  
 Huwallah-99, 103.

## I

Iblis-381, 386.  
 Ibrāhīmī Maḡḡrab-102.  
 Iḥḥha-278.

'Ilham-76.  
 'Illīn-116, 132.  
 'Ilm-i-bātinī-240.  
 'Ilm-i-ma'rifah-38.  
 'Ilm-i-Zahirī-240.  
 Imām-29, 86, 147.  
 Imān-387.  
 Indrajāl-142.  
 'Isawī mashrab-102.  
 'Ishq-53, 55, 69, 84, 277, 278, 279, 403.  
 'Ishq-i-mijazī-34, 279, 282.  
 'Ishq-i-Haqīqī-34, 279, 282.  
 Ism-i-dhāt-104.  
 Isvara-398, 412.  
 Isvarer ghar-407.  
 'Iṭar-324, 325.  
 Iṭbat-80.  
 Iṭbat-i-Nafī-81.  
 Iṭbat ws Nafī-80.  
 Iṭbat-i-Sifat-81.  
 Iṭna 'Ashariyah-231.

## J

Jabrūt-98, 137.  
 Jabrūt Maqām-381, 386.  
 Jainism-117.  
 Jalāl-55, 60, 61.  
 Jalālī Faqīr-61.  
 Jalālī kabūtār-216.  
 Jalāliyah-48.  
 Jali-103, 104.  
 Jaldevatā-336.  
 Jamāl-55, 58, 60-62.  
 Japa-270.  
 Jarīgān-228.  
 Jaṭ-326.  
 Jhinuk-321.  
 Jinns-243, 244, 245, 355.  
 Jion Kunda-187, 190, 195.  
 Jivātma-379, 382, 383, 393, 398.  
 Judaism-117.  
 Junaydī-38, 39.

## K

Kachchā sirni-289.  
 Kāfan-367.  
 Kafan chor-367.  
 Kājal-364.  
 Kājala-395.  
 Kalimah-379, 387.  
 Kālīpūja-343.  
 Kāma-278, 292.  
 Kamāliyat-241, 259, 271.  
 Kāntabhava-405.  
 Kāñihā-285.  
 Kapāḍchopāḍ-297.  
 Karāmat-99, 110, 111.  
 Karatāra-409.  
 Karigar-254.  
 Karkhī-37, 39.  
 Kartā-286.  
 Kārtik-336.  
 Kashfu-'l-qubūr-108, 141.  
 Kasturī-290.  
 Kātāl-252.  
 Kauḍis-365.  
 Kaupin-285.  
 Kavacha-142.  
 Kazrunī-38, 39.  
 Khaḍam-228.  
 Khaḍim-181, 191, 231, 259, 325.  
 Khafī-101, 102, 103, 104.  
 Khalīfahs-145, 146, 151, 154, 171, 241.  
 Khalq-71.  
 Khamar-56, 277, 306.  
 Khanḍa-292.  
 Khāndān-37.  
 Khānaqah-146, 149, 172, 254, 263, 264, 288.  
 Kharābāt-116.  
 Khawwādu'l-Buḥūr-334.  
 Khayr-70.  
 Khidriyah-152.  
 Khirqah-i-Darwishī-38.

Khirqah-i-Khilafat-24, 38, 163, 168, 176, 241.  
Khokā-321.  
Khukī-321.  
Khuṣī Bisvāsīs-295, 300.  
Khuṭbah-171.  
Kīrāmat-229.  
Kīrtana-279, 280.  
Kīshwars-389.  
Kistī-301.  
Kojāgar-350.  
Ksatriya-358.  
Kundalinī-139.  
Kundalinī Ṣaṭchakra bheda-138.  
Kuṭāgiri-384.

## L

Lahūt-98, 137, 382.  
Lahūt Maqām-381, 383, 386.  
Lākhirāj-264.  
Lakṣmipūjā-350.  
Lāl Miyān-321.  
Lāl Shāhbāziyāh-48.  
Langar Khānah-44, 166, 173.  
Laṭhis-342.  
Laṭhikhelā-228.  
Laṭifahs-100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 138, 139.  
Laṭifah-i-Akhfa-104.  
Laṭifah-i-khafi-104.  
Laṭifah-i-Qalb-104.  
Laṭifah-i-Sirr-104.  
Legal decisions of 'Ālamgīr-33.  
Lengṭapīr-327.  
Līla-284.  
Līngā-347, 348.  
Lubān-324, 325.

## M

Mādarer Bāñs-151, 345, 346.  
Mādārī-340, 345.  
Mādārī Jhanṭā-345, 346.  
Madhu Miyān-321.

Magher Mulluk-245.  
Mahar-359.  
Mahāṣaya-286.  
Maḥmūdā Maqām-382.  
Majdhūb-62.  
Maḥḥan Miyān-321.  
Maktūbat-29, 30, 31, 193.  
Mālā-138, 314.  
Malayagiri-384.  
Malkūt-98, 137, 380.  
Malkūt Maqām-380, 381, 385, 386.  
Māmdo Bhūts-366.  
Mana-306.  
Manasā cult-350.  
Manzil-97, 415.  
Maner agun-305.  
Manigiri-384.  
Mangal chandijay-362.  
Mangal ghaṭs-360.  
Mangal kalas-360.  
Manichaeism-121.  
Māṇik-321.  
Māṇik Pīr-288.  
Manipur-380, 381.  
Mansari-271.  
Mantras-141, 151.  
Maqām-289, 378, 385, 388, 389, 415.  
Maqām-i-Nāsūt-137.  
Maqāmat-97, 137.  
Ma'rifah-98, 137, 386.  
Ma'rifat Manzil-386, 388.  
Marṭhiyāhs-341.  
Ma'shūq-69, 404.  
Mathnawī-92, 271.  
Matri disease-365.  
Mawlawī-344.  
May-56.  
Māyā-310, 400.  
Maynā-321.  
Maynāmātīr Pīrenīr Āstānā-342.



Mayūrasana-390.  
 Mazaris-238.  
 Mazhar-54, 58, 63, 115.  
 Merugiri-384.  
 Mliad-344, 345.  
 Miraj-38.  
 Miran Shahi-50.  
 Mokshadāta-292.  
 Monism-118.  
 Mor-Pan<sup>kh</sup>i-331.  
 Mughal-358.  
 Muḥammad-120.  
 Muḥammadī-294, 299.  
 Muḥammadī ma<sup>sh</sup>rab-102.  
 Muḥarram-340, 341, 342, 343.  
 Muḥarram Qa<sup>ṣ</sup>ids-342, 343.  
 Mujaddadiyah-51.  
 Mujaddad-i-Alf-i-t<sup>h</sup>āni-28, 29, 32.  
 Mukti-129, 132.  
 Mulad<sup>h</sup>arā-379.  
 Mullahs-332, 344, 345, 350, 364, 366.  
 Mu'min-109.  
 Munawwar-128.  
 Munawwari-400.  
 Muni-392.  
 Muqim-165.  
 Muraqibah-107, 140.  
 Muraqibah-i-Me'rājū-'l-'arifin-108.  
 Muraqibah-i-Tawḥid-107.  
 Murīd-99, 105, 106.  
 Mur<sup>sh</sup>id-93, 99, 101, 103, 105, 106, 117, 184, 185, 194, 264, 308, 309, 314, 379, 392, 396, 411.  
 Mur<sup>sh</sup>iddya Gan-302.  
 Musawī ma<sup>sh</sup>rab-102.  
 Mutawalli-201, 210, 226, 231, 232, 264.  
 Muwad<sup>h</sup>dhin-195.

## N

Nabī-291.  
 Nāḍī-415.  
 Nafi-80.  
 Nafi-i-i<sup>th</sup>bat-81, 82, 104.  
 Nafs-82, 101, 102, 134, 136, 137.  
 Nafs-i-ammarah-134, 135, 136.  
 Nafs-i-Lawmah-135.  
 Nafs-i-Muṭmayyanah-135.  
 Nafs-i-Mulhima-135.  
 Nagarchi-350.  
 Namaz-387.  
 Namaz-i-Janazah-147, 177.  
 Nanada-362.  
 Nanad Tapani-363.  
 Narayana-289.  
 Narasinger-Jhaḍa-365.  
 Naḡira Maqam-381.  
 Nasūt-97.  
 Nasūt Maqams-378, 380, 385, 386.  
 Nathaism-52.  
 Navya Smriti-268.  
 Naw Shahi-51.  
 Nazr-i-ḥa<sup>q</sup>iḡāt-65.  
 Nyaya Vaisesika school-132.  
 Niāmatullāh Shahi-50.  
 Nibbana-133, 137.  
 Niranjana-378, 383, 385, 386, 388, 389, 392, 396, 398, 410.  
 Nizamiyah-44.  
 Nūr-53, 100, 326, 393, 402, 409.  
 Nūr-i-Muḥammadī-382, 383, 409.

## O

Ojhas-351, 357, 365.  
 Oluṭha-352, 353.  
 Orpari ( Hurpari )-338.

## P

Padmasana-390.  
 Padavali Sahitya-301.  
 Pagal nathī-295, 300.  
 Pakka Sirri-289.  
 Pala-339.

Paṇa Prathā-360.  
 Panchayet-330.  
 Pañch Pīr-244, 327, 328, 337.  
 Pañch Pīriah-329, 330.  
 Paramatma-382, 383, 393, 398.  
 Paṛi-355.  
 Paṛīr Pāhār-244, 245.  
 Paṭal-321.  
 Pāihān-358.  
 Paus Sankranti-336.  
 Pawā-289.  
 Payar metre-373.  
 Pechoy Paoya-365.  
 Phalāhar-366.  
 Phurul Dubāna-361.  
 Pīrani-342.  
 Pīr Badr Bharasā-252.  
 Pīr Bhgi-153.  
 Pīr-Purast-325.  
 Pīrer nūr-326.  
 Pīrī-Murīdī-157, 323, 329.  
 Pītris-336, 343.  
 Prahar-396.  
 Prakriti-282, 284, 296.  
 Prakriti Sādhān-300.  
 Prāṇāyāma-140.  
 Prasād-291, 326.  
 Pravartak-286.  
 Prema-277, 278, 279, 284, 404.  
 Pret-355.  
 Psalms of David-18.  
 Pūjā-326, 335, 354.  
 Pūrāṇ-314.  
 Pūrṇa Chandra-285.  
 Pūrṇimā-367.  
 Purusa-132.  
 Puskara Lagā-367.

## Q

Qadīm-54.  
 Qadīrī order-16, 41, 0, 392.  
 Qadīu-'l-Qudāt-259.  
 Qalandar-47, 62, 138, 150.

Qalandariyah-44, 59, 149.  
 Qalb-101, 102.  
 Qamīsiyah-154.  
 Qasīds-342.  
 Qattāl-252.  
 Qawwāls-345.  
 Qurān, the-18.  
 Qurbat-53, 56, 76, 127, 128, 306,  
 406.  
 Quṭb-109, 110.

## R

Rābitah-105.  
 Rabi'u'l-Awwal-344.  
 Rāfiqīs-29, 30.  
 Rakṣā Chandī-338.  
 Rānī-321.  
 Rasik Neye-307.  
 Rubāyi of Sarmad-34.  
 Ruḥ-72, 73, 74, 98, 101, 102, 127,  
 128, 131, 132, 134.  
 Ruḥ-i-ḥaywānī-383.  
 Ruh Nikālnī-366.  
 Rūpaparī-338.  
 Rū-push-226.  
 Ruz-i-Azal-86.  
 Ruz-i-Qayāmat-116.

## S

Ṣabir-43.  
 Ṣabiriyah-43.  
 Sadasohag-49.  
 Sādhavās-362, 363.  
 Sādh-349, 350.  
 Sādh-khāoya-363.  
 Sādhak-286, 381.  
 Sādhūs-121.  
 Sāqī-361.  
 Sahaj-282.  
 Sahaj Dharma-295.  
 Sahasra dala-kamala-383.  
 Sāheb-Dhānī-295.  
 Sakadāgamibhāva-137.

Salik-97, 99, 107, 108, 137, 140.

Sama'-280, 312.

Samadhi-140.

Sanad-152, 201.

Sandesh-289.

Sani-285, 305.

Sannaysis-171, 184, 187, 348.

Saptahiki-184.

Saqi-56, 276, 277.

Saqi-37, 39.

Sarat-382.

Sarvabhutanataratma-131.

Şaşa Chakras-100, 415

Şaşa Chakra-bheda-139.

Sat pir-337-339

Saytya pir-288, 289.

Şava-Sadhana-144.

Sayyid-358.

Semitic-117, 118.

Şah'ban-343.

Şahab-i-Bargt-340, 343, 344.

Şahab-i-Miraj-376.

Şahzadah-216.

Şah-98.

Şari'at-29, 73, 86, 93, 97, 113, 386, 387.

Şari'at Manzil-385, 386, 387.

Şarr-70.

Şaykh-93, 97, 99, 138, 140, 141, 411.

Şaykhul-Islam-162, 164.

Şi'ahs-29, 30.

Şirazi-161, 221.

Şirk-294, 317, 318, 346.

Şirni-227, 251, 290, 291, 292, 293, 325, 326, 328, 337, 346, 350

Siddha-286.

Siddher Siddha-286.

Siddhi-382, 405.

Şifat-53, 54, 55, 59, 70, 71, 82, 98.

Sijin-116, 132.

Sindur-362.

Sirr-101, 102.

Şisyas-156, 411.

Skandha Kats-355.

Şmaşan-357.

Sodo Bhāsan-336.

Sotapannabhava-137.

Śraddha-366.

Sthavira-325.

Śubhodaya-145, 288.

Sudra-358.

Sulṭānu'l-Adhkar-106.

Sundi-225.

Sunni-33.

Şunnya-398, 400.

Sunnya-Vada-401.

Surmah-61, 364.

Suvarṇa dhenu-vrata-174.

Şyalaka and Şyalika-362.

# T

Tabarruk-326.

Tabrizi-221.

Tahmid-106, 107.

Tajalli-56, 393.

Takbir-106, 107.

Tan-384, 414.

Tan Baqa-384.

Tan Fani-384.

Tan Kashif-384.

Tan Latif-384, 391.

Tan Telat-372.

Tantra-156, 369.

Tantrikism-52.

Tapasyis-414.

Tanur Khanah-168.

Taqwa-137.

Tarekeşwara-346, 347.

Tariqat-386, 387.

Tariqat Manzil-385, 386, 387.

Tariqat-i-Muhammadi-299

Taşawwuf-24, 27, 30, 32, 113, 118, 412.

Tasbiḥ-106, 107, 137, 138, 314.

Tawajjah-206.  
Tawhīd-62, 67, 115, 116, 127, 128,  
275, 276.

Tawhīd-i-af'ālī-107.

Tawhīd-i-Ilāhī-26, 53.

Tawidhs-142.

Tawliyat-231.

Tayfurī-37, 39.

Taziyah-228, 341, 342, 343,

Tehri-379.

Tenāpir-327.

Tepathā-555,

Teratri-184,

Thakura-390, 396,

Thera <Sthavira-324,

Thubre Khagya-361,

Tiki-326,

Tilak-301,

Tin Tehari-378, 385,

Tirodhana-270, 281,

Tribeni ghat-390, 394, 396,

Trinetra-390,

Tu-hi-tū-103,

#### U

Udas bhava-295,

Udasin-300, 301.

Ulama-262,

Unasir-415,

Urs-229, 251, 325,

#### V

Vadhū Varāṇ-362,

Vairagya-283,

Vaiṣṇabism-268, 269, 272,

Vaisya-358,

Vātula-297,

Vedānta-24,

Vibhu-132,

Vidhātā Puruṣa-353, 354.

Viśva Karta-286,

Vyakula-297,

#### W

Wabā-352, 253,

Wadūd-53,

Wadudiyyat-84,

Wahhabī-394,

Wahīdat-68,

Wajd-56, 83, 132,

Walī-110, 137, 297,

Waqf-165, 231, 233, 238, 252, 263,  
264,

Wazīr-223,

Wilāyet-101, 102,

Wisāl-128.

#### Y

Yaugik Practices-385,

Yavana-184, 185, 211, 212, 267,  
290,

Yawmu-'l-Azal-73,

Yawmu'l qayamat-132,

Yoga-133, 135, 136, 156, 377, 394,  
409, 412, 413,

Yoga Kalandar-369, 732, 374, 375,

Yoga Qalandar-151, 372,

Yogasana-390,

Yogism-52,

#### Z

Zahid-110,

Zakāt-387,

Zaydī-37,

Zenanas-322,

Zikir-295,

Zindah-Chazī-337, 339,

Ziyarat-228,

## ERRATA

N. B. ( = *nota bene* ) :—

In a sign like this ( 7 : 13 ), used below after a word, the first figure indicates the number of 'Page' of the book and the second figure indicates the number of 'Line' of the 'Page'.

1. It is noted with great regret that the number of silly mistakes, I mean misprints taking place in this book, is sizable. And their nature is as follows :—

'Norther India' ( 1 : 10 ) for 'Northern India' ; 'strenght' ( 7 : 13 ) for 'strength' ; 'mediaval' ( 33 : 12 ) for 'medieval' ; 'tike' ( 69 : 7 ) for 'like' ; 'boldy' ( 115 : 20 ) for 'boldly' ; 'itenerant' ( 126 : 34 ) for 'itinerant' ; 'dfferent' ( 251 : 8 ) for 'different' ; 'outpauring' ( 270 : 26 ) for 'outpouring' ; 'maund' ( 328 : 2 ) for 'mound' ; 'quotar' ( 74 : 11 ) for 'quota' ; 'multiferious' ( 107 : 40 ) for 'multifarious' ; 'intends' ( 124 : 1 ) for 'intents' ; renowed' ( 148 : 17 ) for 'renowned' ; 'sanit' ( 177 : 14 ) for 'saint' ; 'ccount' ( 203 : 19 ) for 'account' ; 'cleans' ( 212 : 31 ) for 'cleanse' ; 'wanderful' ( 266 : 29 ) for 'wonderful' ; 'lineal' ( 275 : 10 ) for 'linear' ; 'tremels' ( 287 : 2 ) for 'trammels' ; 'reprented' ( 289 : 22 ) for 'represented' ; 'ncludes' ; ( 294 : 25 ) for 'includes' ; 'discent' ( 345 : 15 ) for 'dissent' ; 'low-casts' ( 358 : 12 ) for 'low-castes' ; 'amulgamalion' ( 301 : 16 ) for 'amalgamation' ; 'tornedoes' ( 302 : 18 ) for 'tornadoes' ; 'voterics' ( 325 : 33 ) for 'votaries' ; 'impartinent' ( 360 : 5 ) for 'impertinent' ; neightbours' ( 360 : 27 ) for 'neighbours' ; 'ceremoney' ( 361 : 3 ) for 'ceremony' ; 'realation' ; ( 374 : 29 ) for 'relation' ; 'Throngh' ( 405 : 8 ) for 'Through' ; 'saviors' ( 413 : 18 ) for 'saviours' so on and so forth.

2. Besides, a few mistakes detected so far, may be considered serious in relation to syntax or otherwise. They are corrected as shown below :—

'Him' ( 108 : 11 ) for 'Himself' ; 'were' ( 119 : 3 ) for 'was' ; other places' ( 121 : 7 ) for 'places other' ; 'standing the' ( 123 : 22 ) for 'standing of the' ; 'go' ( 165 : 5 ) for

'goes' ; 'a future' ( 168 : 12 ) for 'future' ; 'and other' ( 208 : 34 ) for 'and observe other' ; 'into any' ( 215 : 23 ) for 'to any' : 'given' ( 216 : 30 ) for 'gave' ; 'under' ( 218 : 23 ) for 'in' ; 'who startled' ( 220 : 1 ) for 'who was startled' ; 'on' ( 250 : 34 ) for 'of' ; 'extinct' ( 282 : 35 ) for 'extinguish' ; 'abidely' ( 311 : 12 ) for 'abide by' ; 'adoption' ( 312 : 9 ) for 'adoption' ; 'places' ( 313 : 11 ) for 'places of' ; 'the another' ( 322 : 18 ) for 'the other' ; 'fell' ( 328 : 28 ) for 'fall' ; 'use to' ( 050 : 12 ) for 'used to' ; 'during last' ( 369 : 6 ) for 'during the last' ; 'presumable' ( 374 : 23 ) for 'presumably' ; 'unparallel' ( 389 : 19 ) for 'unparalleled' so on and so forth.